

Pluralism and Stability in the Close

**The Canons of Lichfield Cathedral in the Last Quarter
of the Fifteenth Century**

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With thanks to Professor Robert Swanson for his kindness, encouragement and scholarship and to my husband and family for their support.

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Abstract (not to exceed 200 words - any continuation sheets must contain the author's full name and full title of the thesis):

This thesis examines the careers of the seventy-seven canons, resident and non-resident, appointed to Lichfield Cathedral between 1475 and 1500 and uses them to illustrate the nature of the Church as a whole. The stability there stems chiefly from the long parallel tenures of Bishop Hals and Dean Heywood, between whom there was no conflict since earlier issues had already been resolved, mostly in the Chapter's favour. That there were few changes in the Chapter's personnel further encouraged stability, as did the existence of efficient administrative systems for cathedral and diocese; since buildings were complete, Heywood had freedom to enrich the cathedral. The new shrines he established demonstrate the nature of late medieval piety and practice. Pluralism was very common among all the canons; the non-resident careerists held many more benefices, using Lichfield prebends merely as sources of additional income, often while in royal service. Some famous men were in this group. Most of the eleven residentiaries probably came from the diocese, the non-residents, only three of whom were of noble birth, from elsewhere. Lichfield remained poor in terms of incomes and posts there were not particularly desirable. The political links between many non-residents and the Stanley-Beaufort-Morton-Tudor axis is striking.

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Pluralism and Stability in the Close

The Canons of Lichfield Cathedral in the Last Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Chapter 1

Introduction

Historians do not agree about the state of the late fifteenth century church. Was it, as G. R. Elton asserted, that “Popular anti-clericalism thrived on tales of gluttonous monks, lecherous friars, ignorant and dishonest parish priests”?¹ Or was it still a body that encouraged piety, was doctrinally sound, fulfilled its pastoral duties and was supported by the population at large as J. J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy would contend? “Late medieval Catholicism exerted an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold over the imagination and the loyalty of the people up to the very moment of Reformation”.²

This inquiry focuses on a particular group of clerics in a particular place, at a particular time, with the intention of using this sample not only to understand the world of the Close at Lichfield, but also to comment on the nature of the late medieval Church in England and its clergy. The canons at Lichfield Cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century are, of course, unique in some ways, but in others they

¹ G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509 – 1558* (London 1977) p.9.

² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars – Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580* (London 1992) p. 4.

illustrate trends observed at many cathedrals and in the Church as a whole. Some canons spent long periods at Lichfield, rising no further up the ecclesiastical ladder; others passed through on their way to greater things, while occasionally continuing to hold their Lichfield canonries. Examples of the two issues of stability and pluralism at Lichfield are easy to see in a stable administration that lasted, as far as its key personnel was concerned, for over fifty years, from the 1430s almost to the end of the century, while at the same time there were numerous non-resident, and some resident, canons who might be described as pluralists on a grand scale. Lichfield was not the wealthiest or noblest of the medieval cathedrals, though not the poorest; it was a cathedral in one of the two “double dioceses”, the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield with its other cathedral attached to Coventry’s Benedictine Abbey. Lichfield was one of nine secular cathedrals established in the earlier medieval period, the cathedrals of the “Old Foundation”, all of which survived the Reformation.³ The diocese stretched north into Cheshire and Lancashire, included much of the Midlands and was part of the province of Canterbury, the larger, southern province of the English Church.

The last quarter of the fifteenth century was significant both religiously and politically: it saw the last flowering of medieval Catholic piety, but also a recurrence of Lollardy; there was great political turbulence leading to the establishment of a new and, in many ways, radically different dynasty. As in previous centuries, the political and religious worlds were intertwined and political involvement in significant ecclesiastical appointments was an issue. Great churchmen continued to serve as royal councillors; John Morton, for example, was Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry

³ The other “double diocese” was Bath and Wells, The other secular cathedrals were Salisbury, Lincoln, York, London, Exeter, Hereford, Chichester and Wells. Nine cathedrals had regular Benedictine clergy, and Carlisle had Augustinian Canons. Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* 2nd edn., (Manchester, 1967).

VII's Chancellor and a Cardinal, a prince of the Universal Church, but also, briefly, a canon of Lichfield Cathedral.

The years 1475 to 1500 preceded the Reformation, so one might expect to find some clues to the origins of demands for reform. Certainly there were numerous examples at Lichfield of pluralism, the practice of holding many benefices, which greatly incensed many of the Church's critics and was the subject of one of the first Acts of the Reformation Parliament.⁴ Indeed, it was pluralism in the Church as a whole which provoked the orthodox and influential John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, to say in a sermon during the 1511 Convocation of Canterbury, "How much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is nowadays in men of the Church? How run they, yea, almost out of breath, from one benefice to another; from the less to the more, from the lower to the higher?"⁵ Yet this was not a new criticism: nearly a century earlier, in 1429, Alexander Carpenter had written, "...pastors and prelates of the Church tire and sweat to obtain church dignities...And when, after long toil, they obtain a church through such occupations, they cease not to labour, but must be prebendaries, then archdeacons and then bishops".⁶ Certainly many Lichfield canons never visited the cathedral; as pluralists they merely used their prebends as sources of income. It was common for clerks in royal, papal or noble service to hold numerous benefices which provided an income at no cost to their employers. Such men were almost always non-resident and it was the inadequacy or total absence of the deputies,

⁴ The Act against Pluralism and Non-residence was passed in the first session of the Reformation Parliament in 1529: henceforth abuses were to be dealt with by the secular courts, which were empowered to deprive any clerk holding more than one living worth in excess of £8 p.a. and impose fines of £10 or £20 on absentees or those unlawfully procuring papal dispensations.

⁵ This quotation from Dean Colet's sermon preached in February 1512 is printed in Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Dean Colet's convocation sermon and the pre-Reformation Church in England' in Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Impact of the English Reformation 1540-1640* (Great Britain, 1997)

⁶ Part of the text from Alexander Carpenter's *Destructorium Viciorum* is printed in G.R.Owst, *The Destructorium Viciorum of Alexander Carpenter* (London 1952), p. 15. The date of composition is given in an early printed edition.

where cure of souls was required, which provoked anger and condemnation. However, there is also evidence for stability at Lichfield, since some canons resided for many years, often spending their entire careers there conducting the business of the Chapter. The secular cathedrals in general, and Lichfield in particular, had developed administrative systems which did not require the presence of large numbers of canons to function; indeed the Chapter was anxious to keep the number of residents small, thus preventing the absentees from draining the very modest common fund. How long the canons held prebends and whether they were residentiaries are also issues to investigate. Another question is whether there was criticism of the Church and the clergy in Lichfield in these years before the Reformation. Did the conduct of the residentiaries in their benefices engender discontent and anti-clericalism or religious enthusiasm and support for the institution? The re-emergence of Lollardy in Coventry and elsewhere in the diocese from 1486 needs examination since it was an expression at least of disaffection and disagreement with Church doctrine; additionally the trials reveal another role for some of the canons.⁷

The later fifteenth century was politically interesting. It saw the establishment of the Yorkist monarchy, the usurpation of Richard III and the accession of Henry Tudor. Connections between the canons in the Close at Lichfield and the wider political world may be found. Dignities and prebends at Lichfield appear not to have been valuable enough to be granted as political rewards or in the hope of some future advantage for the benefactor, though famous clerics were among the canons. The Deanery was not important enough to be a political prize like that of Lincoln. Lichfield was probably too far from the centres of political and ecclesiastical power to

⁷ See below Chapter 6.

matter; the fact that medieval Coventry, the site of the diocese's other cathedral, was an important city, economically and politically, appears to have had no impact on Lichfield's status.⁸ Were the prebendal incomes too small even to be desirable acquisitions in themselves? Were they merely useful as elements of a parcel of benefices, to give in total a reasonable clerical income? The answers to these questions throw light on the issue of pluralism.

There has been a considerable amount of research into the highest ranks of the late medieval clergy, the archbishops and bishops. They are far more visible than the lesser clergy since they had defined public, pastoral, administrative, judicial and political roles: they led their dioceses, sat in the House of Lords and hoped, perhaps expected, to serve on the King's Council. Many of them were well connected, even nobly born, and most were university educated so they are comparatively easy to trace. Moreover, since there were only twenty-one diocesan bishops and dioceses in England and Wales, they are conspicuous among thousands, perhaps 20,000, or even over 30,000 lesser medieval clergy.⁹ The clergy immediately below them, the cathedral canons, however, present a far greater challenge since they left fewer footprints. Some of them became dignitaries of their own or other cathedrals, and some reached the episcopal bench, since the position of cathedral canon is an obvious

⁸ Coventry was the venue for meetings of the Royal Council in 1452, the Great Council in June 1459 and Parliament in November the same year. However, by the late Middle Ages Coventry's status as co-cathedral seems to have become nominal. T. N. Cooper, 'Oligarchy and Conflict: Lichfield Cathedral Clergy in the Early Sixteenth Century' *Midland History* (1994) pp. 40, 55, *Victoria County History of Staffordshire, Vol. III* editors M. W. Greenslade, R. B. Pugh, pp.141,147, 149, 155.

⁹ There were seventeen dioceses in England, J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 60, No. 5* (1970) p.5, R. L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century* (St. Anthony's Hall Publications 16, 1959) p.5, R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 30 – 36. Rosenthal suggests 20,000 clergy. Swanson suggests 26,500 seculars and 6,500 regulars, a total of 33,000. Recent discussion of the figures by S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1995) pp.213- 215, has criticised Swanson's method but generally agreed with his figures, suggesting a total male clerical population of 33,500, or 1.8% of the total population; adding perhaps 2,100 nuns, would make the clergy 2% of the late medieval population.

step on one route to it. Those who remained as canons had, in career terms, only been moderately successful. Yet they were almost all university educated and canonries provided an income, if a modest one, and a standard of living far higher than that of parish clergy. Many Lichfield canons undoubtedly never resided, though evidence is thin; others were residentiaries whose names are recorded as attending Chapter meetings and whose houses in the Close can sometimes be identified. Some, like Dean Heywood, were resident for many years and were much involved in the affairs of the city as well as those of the Cathedral, giving the Close a considerable measure of stability. Others were active in the administration of the diocese and some sat with the Bishop in judgement on those accused of heresy.

The focus of this study, then, is on the role of the canons of Lichfield Cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, researched through various primary and secondary sources.

Coventry and Lichfield Diocese is poorly documented for the fifteenth century; however, *Magnum Registrum Album*, containing details of statutes and customs and other information, and a register of Chapter Acts from the fourteenth century provide some foundations for studying the fifteenth. Lichfield in the later middle ages has been described as the worst documented of English dioceses, making a full account of the history of the Dean and Chapter impossible.¹⁰ There are no Chapter Act books between 1439 and 1480, no communars' or fabric accounts and very few leases. However, some records relating to Lichfield Cathedral do exist for the fifteenth century. There are Chapter Act Books extant for the periods before 1439 and after

¹⁰ V. C. H. Vol.III, p.159, Ann J. Kettle, 'City and Close: Lichfield in the Century before the Reformation' in Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper – Bill (ed.) *The Church in Pre – Reformation Society* (Woodbridge, 1985), p.158.

1480, containing information about the Dean and Chapter's administration and the names of canons present at Chapter meetings, admitted to prebends and who had died. Bishops' Registers record much diocesan administration, not all, of course, referring to the canons. Dean Heywood's Visitation Book for part of the 1460s throws light on the way the Dean controlled aspects of the life of the citizens and the relations between the Close and the city and can be used as a guide to possible events later in the century. Registers and some ordinances of the important Lichfield Guild of St. Mary survive, illustrating the city's religious and social life and showing the relations between the two communities, city and Close.¹¹ In addition there exist some unusually full accounts of the Lollard trials in Coventry in 1486, 1488 and 1500, which show different roles for the Bishop and some canons.¹² Few comparable records exist for other dioceses. Calendars of state and papal papers, wills, instructions for *obits* and requests for burial in a particular parish or church can also yield information that can be pieced together to reconstruct some clerical careers at least in part. Only two schools, Eton and Winchester, have records which show their scholars later became Lichfield canons, though none was a residentiary.

Two domestic accounts survive to throw light on canons' lives. The Diet Accounts for Bishop Hals's household for May to October 1461 list not only food and drink bought and consumed, but also those eating with the Bishop.¹³ The Household

¹¹ A. G. Rosser, 'The Guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, Lichfield: Ordinances of the late Fourteenth Century' in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th Series, XIII* (Staffordshire Record Society 1988).

¹² See Chapter 6.

¹³ The Diet Account is printed in *Household Accounts from Medieval England* edited by C.M. Woolgar (Oxford 1993);

Accounts of Dean William Worsley of St. Paul's show links between important clerics and Lichfield¹⁴.

Details of the wealth of the Cathedral and Chapter at Lichfield for the earlier middle ages can be found in a range of sources, but there is little information about finances in the late fifteenth century. However, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, Thomas Cromwell's great survey for Henry VIII of the wealth of the English Church, states precisely the value of the common fund, of individual prebends and of other sources of income, thus revealing Lichfield then as among the poorest of the secular cathedrals.¹⁵

The prevalence of a university education for middle-ranking clergy and for virtually all bishops by the fifteenth century is shown by A.B.Emden's invaluable *Biographical Registers* for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁶ These registers list degrees gained and offices held at university, details of ordinations and benefices and positions subsequently obtained. Study abroad is noted. Although records for individuals are sometimes incomplete, the majority of fifteenth century Lichfield canons can nonetheless be traced; thus much information about their careers can be gained and parts of their lives reconstructed. The university careers of the canons who entered royal service, or became bishops, or both, are, unsurprisingly, easier to trace. Yet for some there is little information beyond names and the dates of

¹⁴ Hannes Kleineke and Stephanie R. Hovland (ed.) *The Estate and Household accounts of William Worsley Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral 1479 – 1497* (London 2004)

¹⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus Volume III* (London 1817). See Appendices.

¹⁶ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 Volumes I, II and III (B.R.U.O.)* (Oxford 1958) and *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500 (B.R.U.C.)* (Cambridge 1963). His considerable use of bishops' registers assists in discovering clerics' origins. However, he does not list graduates whose university cannot be identified or reasonably surmised, so some apparently non-graduate Lichfield canons may have been omitted for this reason. Rosenthal, p.8.

canonries. Much remains hidden. Frequently missing is any suggestion of a man's social origins, unless he belonged to a distinguished family; also it is rarely possible to discover the geographical area from which he came, although there may be clues if his original diocese, ordination details, place of burial or the nature of his bequests are noted. Most Lichfield canons are found in these registers; few apparently were without degrees.

The *Victoria County History of Staffordshire* provides a very detailed history of the Cathedral, the Close and the city of Lichfield based on a wide range of original documents, including information on Dean Heywood and the late fifteenth century canons.¹⁷

As a result of the paucity of primary sources there are only passing references to Lichfield in histories of the medieval period or of the Church and much of the detailed study of the medieval Church is of necessity based on information from the well documented sees, particularly York, Lincoln and Salisbury.¹⁸ Many other secondary sources throw light on the organisation of the medieval Church, the education and roles of the clergy and the political careers of some of the Lichfield canons.¹⁹ Rarely, however, is Lichfield the focus of the study.

¹⁷ *Victoria County History of Staffordshire Volumes III* (ed.) M. W. Greenslade and R. B. Pugh (1970) and *XIV* (ed.) M. W. Greenslade (1990).

¹⁸ Edwards, pp.1-32, pp.32-96, Appendices I and II for the Canons of Lincoln and Salisbury, pp.327-354.

¹⁹ See the Bibliography.

The only biography of Dean Heywood is the 1925 address given by Dean Savage which emphasises the peace and harmony of the Close under his leadership; unfortunately he rarely identifies his sources.²⁰

A considerable amount of information can be gleaned about the Lichfield canons in the late fifteenth century, but it remains fragmentary and gives little indication of these men's characters. Yet it is possible, by painstakingly piecing together these small pieces of an incomplete jigsaw to reveal part of the picture of these lives.

²⁰ The Very Rev. H. E. Savage, D. D., *Dean Thomas Heywode, Dean* (Lichfield 1925).

Chapter 2

The Fifteenth Century Church

The late medieval English Church has been much criticised as essentially that which the sixteenth century reformers found to be so unacceptable. Historians are divided as noted above, some agreeing that the Church was in dire need of reform, others seeing the last flowering of medieval piety in a popular institution. Examples of all sorts of clerical conduct, virtuous and immoral, industrious and idle, exist in this period and to draw a definitive conclusion as to whether the Church as a whole should be praised or condemned is both impossible and dangerous, since it was far too large and complex an organisation to be described in simple generalised terms. The world of the Close at Lichfield was part of this organisation and, despite the incomplete nature of the evidence, enough information can be unearthed about life there to reveal on a small scale a somewhat similar range of virtues and vices to those seen in the Church as a whole.

The nature of the Church to which medieval clerics belonged has a bearing on the way their careers may be interpreted. The proportion of clergy in the population as a whole was possibly as high as 2%. There were probably some 33,000 clerics, regular and secular, in a huge range of benefices, offices and religious houses in England.²¹ Arriving at this total is difficult as the only formal national statistics are the clerical poll tax returns of 1377–81. Assuming some omissions and underestimating, these figures could suggest approximately 24,000 to 26,000 seculars, a total comparable with that obtained by assuming an average of three priests for each of the 8,800

²¹ For a discussion of numbers see R .N. Swanson, *Church and Society* pp.30-40. See above and footnote 9.

parishes.²² If the population in the fifteenth century was around 3,000,000 that would mean there was one secular cleric for about every 120 people.²³ Therefore the clergy were inevitably prominent in the everyday life of the laity, which is borne out by the evidence for relations between the Close and Lichfield's citizens in the later fifteenth century. The King expected senior clergy to be royal servants, to place their loyalty to him ahead of their loyalty to the Pope and to perform their duties and obligations to the Crown before those demanded by the Church. Such clerics were often bishops and frequently held the great offices of state; they were often members of the King's Council or emissaries to foreign rulers. They were inevitably non-resident in their benefices and had deputies to undertake the religious duties they should have performed. To support themselves they were almost without exception pluralists, frequently gaining papal dispensations to hold more than one incompatible benefice. Ecclesiastical positions were often in the gift of the King in practice, whatever the theoretical situation, and were used as rewards for service at no expense to the treasury. Cathedral canons sometimes found themselves in this favoured group, acquiring many benefices and gaining royal or noble patronage. By the fifteenth century most of the higher clergy had university educations and 91% of the bishops were graduates of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge.²⁴ All three later fifteenth century Bishops of Lichfield, Hals, Smythe and Arundel, were Oxford graduates. Although they had all held canonries elsewhere prior to their elevation, none had held

²² Swanson, *Church and Society* p.30.

²³ The size of the medieval population is very difficult to determine because of the lack of reliable data. The peak was possibly as early as 1300, rather than on the eve of the Black Death in 1348, and has been estimated to have been as high as four million, though most estimates would be two and a half to three million at the time of the 1377 Poll Tax. Probably it was no larger by the early sixteenth century, based on subsidy rolls and chantry certificates in 1545. For a discussion of population numbers see J. A. F Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370 – 1529* (Harlow 1983), pp. 9-16, John Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348 – 1530*, (London 1977) pp. 11-16,

²⁴ For this section see Emden, *BRUC* and *BRUO* for individual bishops and canons, Rosenthal, pp. 12-14, T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present* 86 (1980), pp. 85 - 86.

one at Lichfield. Canonries were rungs on the ladder of promotion, but their geographical location had no relationship to any diocese that a cleric eventually obtained. However, examination of the careers of a number of bishops shows that those who were ultimately successful frequently held prebends at churches or cathedrals with royal connections or close to the seat of power, for example at St. Stephen's, Westminster, or St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The universities were dominated by the clergy and many colleges were founded for the education of men from particular dioceses; for example Exeter College, Oxford, was founded for Exeter diocese and Bishop Smythe co-founded Brasenose College for a principal and twelve fellows born in Coventry and Lichfield Diocese.²⁵ Parish and chantry priests, by contrast, were often trained locally and were in many cases as poor as their parishioners, although they played an important part in the social and economic life of their locality. Between these higher and lower clergy there were huge gulfs in wealth, education and status and their careers obviously took very different paths. However, all of them had roles that were never purely religious. Only the most sequestered members of religious orders could claim real separation from the world; nonetheless, many heads of religious houses appeared on the political stage while the most senior, mitred abbots, sat in the House of Lords.

The canons at Lichfield were an integral part of the Church; by the late fifteenth century most, including all who later became bishops, as in other cathedrals were university educated. Among their number were some who moved swiftly upwards in

²⁵ Smythe remembered the county and diocese of his birth when, after his translation from Lichfield to Lincoln in 1495, he co- founded Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1509, for a principal and twelve fellows all born in the Coventry and Lichfield Diocese, with preference to be given to natives of Lancashire and especially those born, as he had been, in Prescot. Emden, *B.R.U.O.*, p.1721, Margaret Bowker, 'Smith, William (d.1514)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn., January 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25920>].

this international organization and others who moved no further than the first prebend that lifted them out of the lowest ranks. There are no reasons to believe that they were markedly different in any way from any other chapter and their activities may be taken as an example of the workings of a late medieval cathedral.²⁶ Certainly there are instances to be found of worldly success and of relatively modest achievement, of pluralism and non-residence, of brief tenure and of long-term stability, of piety, generous benefaction and worldliness. The outbreak of Lollardy in Coventry in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may be unusual, but it was certainly not unique, though the survival of the records of the trials and punishments, in which proceedings some of the Lichfield canons took part is unusual. As elsewhere, the Lichfield clerics were heavily involved with secular society; the Cathedral was the focus for the diocese which was a large, geographically defined area, stretching from the Ribble in Lancashire almost to the borders of Oxfordshire and including Cheshire, Staffordshire, part of Shropshire and much of Warwickshire; the public was expected at specified times to attend worship there and to come as pilgrims to its shrines; the Bishop was the city's overlord and the Dean had jurisdiction over the behaviour of the citizens. However, in the closing years of the fifteenth century the most important local lay organization, the Guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, while admitting members of the clergy to its ranks, was gaining increasing power and influence in the city's affairs, arguably anticipating the trend away from clerical control seen in the following century.²⁷

The fifteenth century was an age of great piety, whatever individual discontents there might have been with clerics, fees or pluralism. Churches were built, chantries

²⁶ Edwards, pp. 9-11, 16-22, 33-96, 135-250, A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford 1947) pp.72, 98-100.

²⁷ See below in this Chapter and Chapter 5 for a discussion of the Guild.

endowed and shrines created, a pattern followed at Lichfield. There was a desire to glorify God in this world by the creation of magnificence and beauty, while ensuring that great attention was given to the prayers and ceremonies that would speed the souls of the departed to the next. And yet there were also those, whose numbers we cannot determine and of whom some were Lollards, who disagreed with the Church, and were, in some instances, prepared to die for their beliefs. The picture of the church is a complex one. In this thesis Lichfield and its cathedral chapter are studied as a microcosm of that church, its piety and heresy, secularism, pluralism, stability, dedication and discontent.

Chapter 3

The Canons at Lichfield: the Context

In the “double diocese” of Coventry and Lichfield the Prior of the abbey at Coventry Cathedral was second to the Bishop at Lichfield Cathedral with its Dean and Chapter of canons. By the fifteenth century the spiritual and administrative centre of the diocese was Lichfield and the co-cathedral at Coventry was of less importance.²⁸ The see was one of the poorer ones and by 1535 the bishop’s portion was the third lowest according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.²⁹ Becoming bishop there was, for the ambitious cleric, only a stepping-stone to a wealthier diocese, as illustrated by some bishops’ careers. William Smythe, well-connected and with royal patronage, was bishop from 1491 to 1495 when he was translated to the rich and important see of Lincoln.³⁰ By contrast, other incumbents died in office, mostly after a long tenure.³¹ Significantly for this study, John Hals served as Bishop for thirty-one years, from 1459 until his death in 1490, while Thomas Heywood was Dean for almost the identical period, from 1457 until he died in 1492, which contributed to the peace and stability of those years at Lichfield.

²⁸ See footnote 8 above.

²⁹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus III*, p. 132. For details see Appendix I. Only Chichester and Rochester received less income.

³⁰ John Catryk was translated from St. David’s to Lichfield in 1414 and to Exeter in 1419; William Booth, from the powerful ecclesiastical dynasty, was bishop only from 1447 to 1452 when he was translated to the second most senior post in the English Church, the Archbishopric of York. Smythe died as Bishop of Lincoln in 1514. *B.R.U.O.* p.1721, Margaret Bowker, ‘Smith, William (d.1514)’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition., January 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25920>]. John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300 – 1541 X Coventry and Lichfield Diocese* compiled by B. Jones (London 1964) pp.2-3.

³¹ John de Burghill died after sixteen years in 1414; William Heyworth, a Benedictine, remained bishop from 1419 until his death in 1447. Two exceptions, who neither moved to higher things nor stayed long, were Nicholas Close, who was elected and died in 1452, and his successor, Reginald Boulers O.S.B., who died in office in 1459. John Arundel was bishop only from 1496 to 1502, when he was translated to Exeter; he progressed no further, dying as Bishop of Exeter in 1504. For all fifteenth century Bishops of Lichfield see Le Neve, pp. 2-3.

Although the bishops are not the primary focus here, it is impossible to consider a cathedral without reference to its bishops and their relations with their clergy. Hals, Smythe and Arundel held the see in the later fifteenth century together with numerous university and royal appointments.³² Though a theologian and a pastor, Hals was in royal service like Smythe and Arundel who were greatly involved in public life.³³ Therefore they, like many of their predecessors, were absent from Lichfield for long periods. Consequently a complex administrative system, headed by the Bishop and to which he made appointments, had developed to run the diocese, whether or not he was present; the canons were usually those designated to act on his behalf.³⁴ The pattern of service of fifteenth century Bishops largely reflects that of the canons; the careerists, rarely resident, generally held their prebends only briefly, before becoming bishops or dignitaries elsewhere. The residentiaries conducted chapter business and administered the diocese using the effective bureaucracy which they had inherited and which they amended to suit their particular needs; radical change was not necessary.

In the later fifteenth century there were usually five residentiaries, a clearly defined group regularly present at meetings: initially Thomas Milley, Thomas Reynold, Roger Walle and John Whelpdale, and later Richard Sherborne, George Strangeways, Edmund Hals, Richard Salter, Henry Edyall, and Richard Egerton, usually with Dean Heywood, or later Dean Yotton, presiding. Of this group,

³² For details of the Bishops see Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp.50-51, 856, 1721, Rosemary C.E. Hayes, 'Hals, John (c.1407 – 1490)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2009: online edn., May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95155>], Margaret Bowker, 'Smith, William (d.1514)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn., January 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25920>]. John Arundel has no *D.N.B.* online entry. Also see below Chapter 4 for royal connections and especially Smythe's Beaufort and Tudor links.

³³ Hals served as Keeper of the Privy Seal to Henry VI and as an envoy to France and Scotland under both Henry VI and his Yorkist successor Edward IV. His attitude was one of "serene paternalism". *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.27.

³⁴ See below in this Chapter and Chapter 5.

discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, Heywood was the first to come to Lichfield as a canon in 1433 and, since he did not die until 1492, he overlapped by twelve years the tenure of the last but one survivor of the group, Edyall, prebendary of Gaia Minor, from 1480 until his death in 1520, and by six years the great pluralist, Egerton, who was a canon from 1486 until he died in 1538.³⁵ These canons performed various roles in the sophisticated diocesan administrative system which functioned fully during episcopal absences. There is continuity of personnel through changes of bishop or king; at no time was there a complete replacement of the Chapter.³⁶ They seem to have become a close knit, increasingly powerful group.³⁷ The pattern of government in the seventeen English dioceses was not uniform so the system in Lichfield was probably unique.³⁸ The hierarchy of officials was defined but flexible and mostly chosen by the bishop. In existence from the eleventh century, the four archdeacons were involved in the daily administration of the diocese and held visitations and courts.³⁹ The residentiaries Walle and Milley, for example, held this office, as well as other posts. Archdeacons could prove problematical for the bishop because, as holders of benefices, they could not be removed at will and such appointments were exploited by popes and kings. However, relations between bishop and archdeacons could be assisted by the appointment of relatives, as when Bishop Hals appointed his kinsman Edmund Hals as Archdeacon of Salop and then of Derby.⁴⁰ They were often accused of “greed and corruption”, but there is no evidence of this for Lichfield.⁴¹ A

³⁵ Emden *B.R.U.C.* pp. 633,667, Emden *B.R.U.C.* pp. 166, 630, 856, 897-898, 1572, 1633, 1685,1796-1797, Cooper, ‘Oligarchy and Conflict’ p.45.

³⁶ The possible influence of national politics on appointments at Lichfield is discussed below in Chapters 4 and 5.

³⁷ Cooper, ‘Oligarchy and Conflict’, pp.43-45.

³⁸ Storey, p.5.

³⁹ For details of administration discussed here see *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, pp.30-41.

⁴⁰ Edmund Hals held a prebend at Lichfield from 1474 until his death in 1501. He was Archdeacon of Salop from an unknown date till 1485 and of Derby from 1485, probably till his death. Le Neve, p.17, Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.856.

⁴¹ *V.C.H.. Staffs. III*, pp.32-33.

further complication was that the Archdeacon of Chester exercised semi-autonomous jurisdiction within his archdeaconry, for which privilege he paid the bishop an annual fee.⁴² Consequently from the twelfth century bishops began to appoint an official, by 1453 an official principal⁴³, who could process everything within the jurisdiction of the bishop's consistory court, including occasionally matrimonial cases.⁴⁴ From 1307 bishops also appointed vicars-general while absent *in remotis*, primarily as administrators. Sometimes, however, an official principal acted as vicar general as well, as in the case of John Fox in 1473 who had been official principal since 1464 and continued in that role until at least 1479. Bishop Arundel was the first to appoint one man, William Duffield, as both official principal and vicar-general, on 21 November 1496, prior to which date he held no appointment in the diocese; he became Archdeacon of Stafford the following year.⁴⁵ A commissary-general was appointed as the bishop wished and his duties often appear indistinguishable from those of the official principal. The post was permanently combined with that of the sequestrator-general from 1427 to collect monies including Peter's Pence, pensions, probate fees and revenues from vacant livings. An account for Thomas Reynold as sequestrator-general exists for 1466-7 when there were total receipts of £171 3s. 7d.⁴⁶ The four, later three or two, officers, official principal, commissary-general and sequestrator-general, were often archdeacons, usually canons and shared the work of the consistory court, one of their number presiding in the Bishop's absence. Thus we find members of the inner circle of residentiaries in these roles: Dean Heywood presided as vicar-

⁴² R.N.Swanson, 'Episcopal Income from Spiritualities in Later Medieval England: the Evidence for the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', *Midland History* (1988) pp.9-10

⁴³ See R.L.Storey, for a discussion of diocesan administration.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H.. Staffs. III*, p.33 based on *Lichfield Diocesan Register B/A 1/14* ff10v-11.

⁴⁵ There is no apparent connection between Arundel and Duffield. Le Neve, pp.3, 20, Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.70 and Emden: *B.R.U.C.* p.197.

⁴⁶ By 1542, when Peter's Pence and income from vacant livings had been abolished and no probate fees were recorded, the total income was £42. *V.C.H.. Staffs. III*, p.35, details from *Staffordshire Record Office D (W) 1734/3/2/4 and J.1949*.

general in 1464 and later at least in 1466 and 1488; Reynold presided as sequestrator and commissary-general in 1467, 1469, 1473 and 1476, usually assisted by Roger Walle, Archdeacon of Coventry from 1442 and a residentiary till his death in 1488.⁴⁷ George Strangeways was commissary in 1503 for Bishop Blythe. The court usually sat in Lichfield for thirteen or fourteen days a year, rarely in August, and other lawyers attended in matrimonial cases. The other diocesan clergy, the suffragan bishops, the cathedral's *ministri inferiori*, the rural deans and the parish priests, had entirely separate roles and did not intrude into the canons' preserves. Thus by the later fifteenth century identified residentaries clearly had a tight grip on diocesan administration, as well as controlling the running of the Cathedral and the Close. Their power over the Close and their influence in the affairs of the city are discussed below.

Leading the cathedral's dignitaries, the Dean's considerable powers included control of the canons and vicars and the right of visitation of the prebends, the parishes of the common fund churches and the Lichfield city clergy.⁴⁸ He was in charge of the cathedral livings and inducted and installed new prebendaries. The Precentor oversaw the cathedral's services and choirs, the Treasurer administered its treasures and supplies and the Chancellor was the legal and literary officer. The archdeacons, later creations, as at Hereford had no precedence and apparently never

⁴⁷ *V.C.H.. Staffs. III*, p.31. Walle is regularly listed as present in the Chapter Act Book from 1480, for example in the first entry for 1 November 1480, he was present with Dean Heywood, John Whelpdale and Thomas Milley, *Chapter Acts Book II* f.1r. Walle's death is recorded there on f.25r.

⁴⁸ Æthelweald was credited with the institution of canons according to *The Lichfield Chronicle*, written by Alan of Ashbourne in the earlier fourteenth century and published by H. Wharton in *Anglia Sacra I*, quoted in *V.C.H Staffs. III*, p.140. Bishop Clinton founded a *collegium canonicorum* in the 1130s, possibly intending to use this secular chapter to gain support against the monastic chapter at Coventry. It was similar to those founded at York, Salisbury and Lincoln in the late eleventh century and headed by the same dignitaries *V.C.H Staffs. III*, p.140, 141-142, Edwards, p.20.

lived in the Close.⁴⁹ The founding and division of prebends was complete by the fourteenth century making thirty-two, but their value never increased sufficiently to rival that of the great cathedrals.⁵⁰ Similarly the common fund remained small, despite donations and the acquisition of several pensions.⁵¹ Hence the fifteenth century Chapter, in a period of economic difficulty, inherited financial problems. The administrative structures known to these canons was essentially in place three hundred years earlier.

From the outset, the Lichfield canons seem to have been similar to those elsewhere in that among them there were royal clerks and officials for whom prebends provided an income, but who never resided. The usual practice throughout the middle ages was for only a small number of canons to be residentiaries. Non-residence was deemed a problem as early as 1195 when statutes of residence, the earliest for any English cathedral, laid down complex rules to prevent it; the problem was never solved because of the smallness of the common fund and the Chapter's income.⁵² The fourteenth century was notable for the absenteeism of dignitaries and canons, from Lichfield and from other secular cathedrals, mostly because of the growth of papal

⁴⁹ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.142. The Archdeacons were assigned a house in Beacon Street in the thirteenth century. Thomas Milley held a prebend at Lichfield from 1457 until his death in 1505. He was Archdeacon of Coventry from 1488 to 1505 and had a house in the Close. *V.C.H. Staffs. XIV*, p. 59. Edwards, p.252, 255.

⁵⁰ According to thirteenth century tradition the holders of five prebends, all still existing in the fifteenth century, Freeford, Stotfold, Longdon, Hansacre and Weeford, had the special duty of ministering at the high altar. *V.C.H Staffs. III*, p.141 footnote 25, referring to Dugdale, *Monuments (vi)* 3. In 1535 their combined value was under £400, where Salisbury's deanery alone was then worth more than £200. The Sawley prebend was the most valuable, worth £56 13s. 4d., while that of Dasset Parva was worth only 3s. 4d.. Of the rest, only three were worth £40 or more, five were worth £20 to £40, eight between £10 and £20 and the rest less than £10. *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.144. See Appendix.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.143.

⁵² Each canon was expected to reside for a minimum of three months with one of the dignitaries, to each of whom a quarter of the year was allotted. Absence was only permitted on the affairs of the church; otherwise a fine of a fifth of the value of a canon's prebend was to be paid into the common fund. *V.C.H Staffs. III*, p.142.

provisions.⁵³ The Statutes of Provisors of 1351, 1353 and most importantly 1390 ended this situation so that there were only three foreign canons in the following century, just one in the last quarter.⁵⁴ The residentiaries were principally royal or episcopal servants, or retired ecclesiastics or university scholars. Bishop Hals changed this situation to produce the very different and effective late fifteenth century Chapter. Despite the statutes, the number of residentiaries fell to six in the late thirteenth century, rose to ten and fell to five in Heywood's time.⁵⁵ Attempts were made not to increase but to limit the number of residentiaries because of fear that the common fund would be inadequate for many residents as the Chapter's revenues were shrinking. What was effectively an entry fine, which may have discouraged residence, was imposed: new canons were to spend per year at least £40, later raised to a hundred marks, of their own money.⁵⁶ Later regulations ordered that the hundred marks paid by canons commencing residence should be for the Cathedral fabric and be kept in a special chest to prevent the residentiaries sharing these payments, as they had been doing.⁵⁷ Nonetheless not all the canons who were officially resident were necessarily there. Sherborne, for example, was warned for the second time in November 1481 for failing to come into residence.⁵⁸

⁵³ The growth of Papal provisions meant that the non-resident chapter often included many distinguished foreigners, including cardinals, aristocrats and members of the papal court, as well as royal officials and members of English noble families. Edwards, pp.35-38, 50-56, 83-96; *V.C.H.Staffs. III*, p. 151.

⁵⁴ These were two Prebendaries of Hansacre, M. Francesco Ugucconi (1410 – 1412), Cardinal Priest of SS. Quattor Coronati, and Francis Zarabella, (1412 –1417), Cardinal Deacon of SS. Cosmas et Damianus, and Giovanni Gigli (or John de Gigliis), an Italian born in Bruges, Prebendary of Bishopshull from 1481 to 1482. Gigli was certainly never resident, being employed on royal and papal business, a canon of at least five other cathedrals, holder of many English benefices, Papal Collector and Bishop of Worcester. Cecil H. Clough, Three Gigli of Lucca in England during the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Diversification in a Family of Mercery Merchants in *The Ricardian XIII* 2003, Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 764 -76. See below Chapter 4, footnotes 112, 135, 188.

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.159.

⁵⁶ Edwards, pp. 62 – 67.

⁵⁷ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p. 152.

⁵⁸ *C.A.II* fo. 6v.

Before the fifteenth century chantries had been established and chantry chaplains and vicars appointed in the cathedral. The forms of all services were specified;⁵⁹ from 1428 the Sarum Use was supposed to be followed, apart from on specified feasts, but there is no evidence this happened.⁶⁰ Further regulations were only modifications, for example concerning the administration of the sacraments in 1487;⁶¹ there were repeated orders that ministers were to be correctly habited for services and in 1483 to “reform” their tonsures.⁶²

The Lichfield Chapter’s rights were considerable. It had the right in perpetuity from 1222 of electing the Dean, whose powers, noted above, made him second only to the Bishop. He was in residence for the whole year and received double commons, as did the bishop when in Lichfield.⁶³ Daily commons were always apparently in money, not in kind, and managed by one or two canons elected as communars by the Chapter at Michaelmas. They also paid other expenses, including those incurred by lawsuits relating to the cathedral’s property and rendered a yearly account to the

⁵⁹ The ceremony for the installation of new canons with the order of their stalls, the saints’ days to be observed and the correct vestments to be worn were all specified in the thirteenth century. Bodies of lesser clergy appeared in the cathedral. Every canon was to appoint a vicar who was to be permanently resident and present at all services. The five canons who traditionally ministered at the High Altar were to appoint vicars who were priests. Chantries were founded in the cathedral and initially ministered at by the vicars, but by the beginning of the fourteenth century a separate group of chantry chaplains had begun to appear. *V.C.H.III*, pp.148-149.

⁶⁰ Lichfield, though considered a poorer cathedral, had a vast treasury of copes, vestments and sacred vessels, the wearing and use of which was strictly regulated. R. N. Swanson, ‘Extracts from a fifteenth century Lichfield Cathedral Chapter Act Book’ in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire Fourth series Volume XX A Medieval Miscellany (Staffordshire Record Society 2004)*, pp.129. Bishop Blythe in the sixteenth century found cathedral services still often differed from the Sarum Use. The Chapter issued orders for conformity, but as late as 1532 it was agreed the ancient Lichfield Use should be followed concerning some of the vicars’ duties in choir until the Dean discovered the appropriate Salisbury practice. *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.161. *C. A. III* ff.238, 139, 95. The Bishop of London ordered his diocese to adopt the Sarum Use in 1414. The lack of surviving service books makes it very difficult to discover exactly what liturgy was used. Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge) 2009 pp. 1-5, 377-387, 480-496. The problem of lack of conformity still existed across the country according to Cranmer’s preface to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, which asserted that some followed “Salisbury use, some Herford use, some the use of Bangor, some of Yorke, and some of Lincolne”; this is discussed in Pfaff, p.497.

⁶¹ *C. A. II* fo.14 v.

⁶² *C. A. II* fo.11.

⁶³ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.145.

Chapter. Evidence of this and the existence of a chapter clerk, paid from the common fund, Thomas Godsalue, are found in the fifteenth century Chapter Acts.⁶⁴

There was no need for conflict between Bishop Hals and Heywood's Chapter since the contentious issue of visitation had been settled to the Chapter's advantage in 1428, after an appeal to the Pope; visitations were to be seven years apart and only of the Chapter, not of other cathedral clergy or of the churches of the common fund. Lichfield was the last secular cathedrals to accept episcopal visitation apart from Hereford, which resisted until after the Reformation. This gave the Chapter far greater independence from the Bishop than was the case elsewhere, reinforcing its power up to the Reformation.⁶⁵

A third establishment, the Bishop's household, might have challenged the power of the diocesan administration or the Chapter. By the fifteenth century this consisted of the clerks forming his secretariat and his household servants and was quite separate from the permanent hierarchy of officers and courts forming the administration.⁶⁶ Bishops rarely remained for long at any one of their numerous residences within the diocese and they travelled to attend on the king or conduct royal or papal business in England or Europe.⁶⁷ Always the household was in attendance. It is difficult to

⁶⁴ The statutes of Bishop Pattishall, 1241, and Bishop Meuland, 1294, dealt with the development of the Chapter. *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.145, supported by Dugdale, *Mon. vi (3)*. John Whelpdale, for example, presented his account as communitar on 27 September 1481, the Friday before the feast of St. Michael (29 September); Thomas Godsalue, the Chapter Clerk, was also present, *C.A. II* fo. 6v.

⁶⁵ After protests from the Chapter in the 1390s, Bishop Scrope agreed he and his successors would only visit the Chapter once every ten years, but that the rest of the cathedral should be exempt. The Chapter resisted attempted visitations by Bishops Burghill in 1407 and Heyworth in 1423. For a discussion of the resolution of the issue in the fifteenth century *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, pp.155, 162, 163, *C.A. I* f.129. Edwards, pp. 132 – 4.

⁶⁶ R.L.Storey, pp. 5ff.

⁶⁷ The extant Diet Account of the household of Bishop John Hals, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, for May to October 1461 shows that he spent the whole period in his diocese, but the longest he remained in one residence was four and a half weeks spent at Heywood from 13 July to 12 August.

discover the names of the members of the Lichfield episcopal households and whether some of them were indeed in the administration or the Chapter as well. Certainly Roger Walle, mentioned above, was a member of all three groups, household, administration and Chapter. He was a confidant and secretary of Bishop Heyworth and a “continual commensal member” of his household from 1419 until Heyworth’s death in 1447.⁶⁸ He was clearly still influential long after 1447 as Archdeacon of Coventry for forty-six years and one of the core group of residentiaries regularly attending Chapter meetings.⁶⁹ He is also recorded as dining with Bishop Hals on the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August 1461, but the extant account, covering only six months, is too short to show whether he was regularly with the bishop.⁷⁰ No other name emerges as a member of all three groups, but the example of Walle shows that there could be others. Thus it seems that the residentiaries controlled the Cathedral, the Close and, at least in the absence of the bishop, the diocesan administration, and may well have had a presence in his household.

The physical features of the Close known to the late fifteenth century canons were, like the diocesan administrative systems, created long before their time, undergoing few changes after the completion of the rebuilding about 1380.⁷¹ The Cathedral and the Close had developed slowly over preceding centuries. From the twelfth century the Close had a supply of fresh water, piped in from Burntwood. The Norman church and Close had a deep dry moat on three sides, while the fourth was protected by the Minster Pool. By the fourteenth century the fortifications included a crenellated stone

The Diet Account is printed in *Household Accounts from Medieval England* edited by C.M.Woolgar (Oxford 1993); see pp.454-457, 473-479.

⁶⁸ Walle was regularly at Bishop Heyworth’s table. See above in this chapter. *V.C.H.. Staffs.III*, p.31.

⁶⁹ *V.C.H. Staffs. iii* p.30, *Emden B.R.U.O.* p.1966.

⁷⁰ Woolgar, p.474.

⁷¹ For details of the Close and clerical residences see *V.C.H. Staffs. XIV* pp. pp. 47–67, 158 –159.

wall around the Close with corner and interval towers while the south-east gate had a portcullis and drawbridge across the outflow from the Minster Pool. All these features survived at least into the seventeenth century, thus visibly and physically enforcing the separation of the Cathedral community from the city, a separation which Dean Heywood and his Chapter in the fifteenth century were concerned to emphasise and maintain. Bishop Langton's new palace was surrounded by its own wall, along the east wall of the Close, further separating the Bishop from the Chapter, other clerics and the laity. The Dean's residence certainly existed from the early middle ages. The Bishop assigned houses in the Close to canons when they came into residence, but others were assigned by the Dean and Chapter. Three canonical houses can be identified as built by late fifteenth century canons. George Strangeways, Prebendary of Stotfold from 1485 and later Archdeacon of Coventry, built a brick house early in the sixteenth century. Henry Edyall, Prebendary of Gaia Minor from 1480 to 1520, built a red brick courtyard house, remnants of which survive in the south and west walls of the modern No. 23. A ruined house was assigned in 1461 to Thomas Milley, a prebendary from 1457 to 1505, Archdeacon of Coventry from 1488 to 1505 and regularly in attendance at Chapter meetings; he rebuilt it in brick over stone vaults incorporating the base of a stone tower, parts of which survive in the present No. 24.⁷² These details, coupled with evidence from the Chapter Acts, show that these three canons were undoubtedly residents. The other Cathedral clergy were officially housed before this period. The chantry priests had their "New College" by 1414 on a site assigned by Bishop Burghill opposite the Cathedral's south door. The twenty-six or so vicars lived in houses in the Close from the early fourteenth century and had a common hall from the early fifteenth. The cathedral choristers and their

⁷² *V.C.H. Staffs. XIV, pp. 57, 65-67.*

master, however, did not live in common until Bishop Blythe assigned them a house in 1527. Having the lesser clergy housed within the Close made the Dean's task of disciplining them easier. A chapter house, with a library and treasury above it, had been built to accommodate the chapters of both Coventry and Lichfield. Heywood and his contemporaries did no major building, but enriched the Cathedral's fabric and spiritual life, for example with new chantries and a new library, as detailed below. The manner of that enrichment throws a light on the nature of late medieval religion and on the lives of the canons.⁷³ The Church emphasised prayers for the dead, architecture and education flourished, and public demand for religious books increased.⁷⁴ None of these developments would have been possible without the will and the wealth of men like Heywood and his successor, John Yotton.

Despite the marked physical separation between city and cathedral community and Dean Heywood's insistence that these worlds should be kept apart, there was one organisation to which both clergy and citizens belonged, the long established Guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist. It was inaugurated in 1387 when Richard II granted a licence to seven petitioners to found a guild or fraternity at Lichfield.⁷⁵ This grant marked the amalgamation of two pre-existing guilds, those of St. John the Baptist and of St. Mary. The new guild not only had its royal patron, whose name, with that of his wife, was entered at the beginning of the list of members, but also the blessing of the Bishop. By the late fifteenth century it had expanded, numbering among its members many clergy from both cathedral and city, including Heywood,

⁷³ See below for details of Dean Heywood's work in the Cathedral and the city.

⁷⁴ See H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans for a discussion of the growth of university numbers, pp.10-28. E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford 1961), pp. 648-649, 654-655, G. H. Cook, *The English Cathedral through the Centuries* (London 1957) pp.253-254.

⁷⁵ A.G.Rosser, The Guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, referring to *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385-1389*, 373, 380, pp. 19-20.

and also members of the nobility and gentry, in addition to townsmen and women. By then the guild had greatly increased its power and in the next century rivalled the ecclesiastical organisation for control of Lichfield affairs.

From the evidence it is clear that the late fifteenth century canons inherited systems and a physical environment which did not need radical change.⁷⁶ It was a period of consolidation and stability with no major building in the Cathedral or the Close, only embellishment and repair, and no major new statutes.⁷⁷ Relations between the various groups of clerics in the Close were mostly good, though the vicars' behaviour could cause concern.⁷⁸ The long parallel tenures of Bishop Hals and Dean Heywood and the lack of conflict between them encouraged tranquillity and order. The size of the resident Chapter shrank, as did the value of its revenues, so that there were usually only five or six residentiaries. However, it consolidated its power since its members formed the diocesan administration and possibly part of the episcopal household.⁷⁹ The Chapter also had some control over Lichfield's citizens and considerable influence in the Guild of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, although the Guild too was increasing its power. The Bishop, nonetheless, remained the city's overlord until the Reformation. The framework of life in the Close for the canons was thus set long before the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

⁷⁶ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of evidence.

⁷⁷ For this paragraph see *V.C.H. iii*, p.160-161, based on Dugdale, *Mon. vi(3)* pp.12262-1264 and *C.A. IV f.63*.

⁷⁸ See below Chapter 6 for a discussion of relations with Heywood. In 1513 the vicars went on strike and in 1528 they applied, without the knowledge of the Chapter and ultimately unsuccessfully, for a royal licence of incorporation. *V.C.H. Staffs. III* pp. 163- 4 and Kettle, p.159.

⁷⁹ Cooper, *Oligarchy and Conflict* pp. 54-55.

Chapter 4

The Canons' Geographical, Social and Educational Background, and Political Significance

It has already been noted that a full account of the history of the Dean and Chapter is impossible because of the paucity of fifteenth century diocesan and university records.⁸⁰ Thus the social and geographical origins of the resident and non-resident canons are difficult to determine. The clergy of the city chapels were often from local families and the minor cathedral clergy probably had family ties with the city, but there is little clear evidence whether the canons, resident or not, had local connections, though a number of them certainly came from Lichfield Diocese.⁸¹ David Lepine has shown that many of the Exeter Canons in this period were from Exeter diocese and it is not unreasonable to surmise that the same would be true of Lichfield, a see comparable in its distance from the capital and its relative poverty.⁸² Details of ordinations or records of first benefices, where they exist, can provide clues to origins.⁸³ A man's ordination by letters dismissory at least shows that the diocese where the ordination took place was not the one from which he originated.⁸⁴

Some of the core group of late fifteenth century residentiaries already mentioned may have been local men, as has been suggested in the case of the most important of them, Dean Heywood; he described himself as "of noble family", the "son of

⁸⁰ See above Chapter 2.

⁸¹ Kettle, p.161.

⁸² David Lepine, 'The Origins and Careers of the Canons of Exeter Cathedral 1300 – 1500' in *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion Volume III Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Christopher Harper-Bill (ed.) (Woodbridge 1991) pp.88-91,120. Lepine found 52% of the Exeter canons in that period whose origins were known came from Exeter Diocese.

⁸³ Emden's information on ordinations and benefices has been used when given.

⁸⁴ Letters dismissory were in effect a licence from a man's own bishop to allow him to be ordained in another diocese. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* pp.18, 19, 32, 58.

Nicholas and Alice”, but said nothing of his birthplace and cannot definitively be connected with Heywood in either Staffordshire or Lancashire.⁸⁵ He was, however, admitted to the Guild in 1459 as “Master Thomas Fisher, *al. dict.* Heywood, doctor of laws”, so perhaps Heywood is a toponymic, possibly suggesting landed status, rather than a family name.⁸⁶ He had no political connections to a dominant family, like the Stanleys, which might have advanced his career or hinted at his origins. Yet, since he held benefices only in the diocese, was buried in the cathedral and had his obit there, his roots probably lay within the diocese. Another member of this group, Roger Walle, was described as from Coventry and Lichfield Diocese, where he was ordained by Bishop Heyworth.⁸⁷ The origins of two other residentiaries, Thomas Milley and John Whelpdale, are not known.⁸⁸ Milley seems to have spent all the years from 1457 until his death in 1505 at the Cathedral, rebuilding a house in the Close and refounding the Beacon Street almshouse which subsequently bore his name, thus showing his commitment to the city.⁸⁹ Whelpdale was a resident from 1454 until he died in 1490, holding only one benefice outside the diocese, a Lincoln canonry from 1470 to 1483, according to a brief entry in the Cambridge Register.⁹⁰ Thomas Reynold held benefices and prebends only in the diocese, suggesting he might have been born there.⁹¹ Seemingly these long serving residentiaries either came from the

⁸⁵ Kettle, p.162. Savage opines that Heywood’s founding of a chantry dedicated to St. Blaise, a saint popular in Lancashire, suggests he came from that county, Savage, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁶ Both names are common in the register and a William Fisher was Master from 1459 to 1464. Kettle, p. 162, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 897-898, Savage, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁷ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.1966, Le Neve, pp.15, 20, 36, 47.

⁸⁸ Milley has no entry in either the Cambridge or Oxford Biographical Registers and there is no mention of his birthplace in the Lichfield sources. See footnote 190.

⁸⁹ *V.C.H. Staffs.* iii pp.275 – 276.

⁹⁰ Whelpdale’s entry in Emden is very brief. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p.633. He could possibly have been a member of the ancient Whelpdale family of Cumberland, but the county was not in Lichfield Diocese. Roger Whelpdale became Bishop of Carlisle in 1419. ‘General History: Gentry’ *Magna Britannia Vol.4 Cumberland (1816)* pp.lxix-xcviii.

URL:<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50667>

⁹¹ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.1572. There is no record of his ordination, but his first recorded benefice was Warmington, Warwickshire.

diocese or at least had no significant connections with any other see. However, George Strangeways, resident from 1485, has no birthplace noted.⁹² His other scattered benefices, including rectories in Cumberland, London and Devon, yield no clues. He may have been the son of Sir James Strangeways of Yorkshire who had a son described as “George a Clarke” in the Herald’s Visitation of Yorkshire.⁹³ A number of the non-residents also originated from the diocese. These included James Stanley, Archdeacon of Chester from 1478 until his death in 1485, a member of the powerful Stanley family whose estates were in Lancashire and Cheshire.⁹⁴ John Voysey, or Vesey, Archdeacon of Chester from 1499 until he became Bishop of Exeter in 1519, was born in Sutton Coldfield, near Lichfield, where he is remembered at the grammar school named after him.⁹⁵ Hugh Oldham, who held two Lichfield prebends and was later Bishop of Exeter, was born in the diocese, probably in the parish of Prestwich, Oldham, Lancashire.⁹⁶ Other canons, Edmund Chadderton, John Geffray, John Frisby, William Orell and Thomas Worsley, came from the diocese, though places of birth are not specified. Adam Grafton, Prebendary of Wellington and Archdeacon of Salop and later Stafford from 1497 until perhaps 1529, was from Salop and has his memorial brass in Withington church.⁹⁷ Richard Egerton,

⁹² Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp.1796-7. *C.A. II* f.4r. . He was Archdeacon of Coventry probably from 1505.

⁹³ *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564 made by William Flower, Esquire, Norroy King of Arms* edited by Charles Best Norcliffe, M.A., of Langton (London 1881), on <http://www.archive.org/bookreader/print.php?id=visitationofyork>

Further details are found in the nineteenth century pedigree where he is described as “Georgius Clericus”, published by http://www.strangewaysfamily.org.uk/html/visitation_of_yorkshire.htm which is based on the herald’s tour of Yorkshire in 1563-4. The family had originally come from Lancashire, in Lichfield diocese. Sir James was Speaker of the Commons in 1461 and died in 1480, so having a son who was at Oxford in the 1460s and who died in 1512 would be possible.

⁹⁴ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.1760, Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King’s Mother* (Cambridge 1992) p. 151 and genealogical table. James Stanley was the brother of Thomas, Lord Stanley, first Earl of Derby, and the uncle of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely.

⁹⁵ Vesey was ordained sub-deacon and priest in the diocese by Bishop Arundel. *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1947-1948.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of Oldham’s birthplace and family see Alfred A. Mumford, *Hugh Oldham, 1452[?]-1519* (London 1936) pp. 13-16, 19-24. Oldham was Prebendary of Colwich, 1495-1500, and Freeford, 1501-1504. See below for a discussion of his career and political importance.

⁹⁷ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp.798-9 and see below for his royal connections.

apparently resident in Lichfield from 1486 until he died in 1538, was probably from the notable Cheshire family and thus from the diocese.⁹⁸ Hugh Lehe's birthplace is unknown, but he was perhaps from the diocese since he was ordained by Bishop Hals, only held benefices there, and was probably close to Hals as he was one of the small group present at the Lollard trials in 1486 and 1488.⁹⁹ John Frysby was probably from the diocese, possibly from Coventry; he was ordained sub-deacon and deacon by Bishop William Booth, but priest by Lumley of Lincoln by letters dismissory.¹⁰⁰ Other canons may have originated from the diocese, but it was so large that they might still have had no direct connections with Lichfield or Staffordshire.

The canons from the West Country had no connections with Lichfield beyond their canonries and never resided. John Morton was from Dorset.¹⁰¹ John Docket, from Sherborne, and Thomas Hawkins, born in Devizes, were both buried in Salisbury Cathedral. Thomas Edmunds was a scholar of Winchester College, so probably from the diocese, or possibly the College's estates.¹⁰² Four non-resident Lichfield canons originated from Exeter Diocese. William Sommastre had most of his benefices there, holding only the prebends of Curborough and Hansacre at Lichfield from 1499 till his death in 1505.¹⁰³ Oliver Dynham held several benefices in Exeter diocese and

⁹⁸ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.630 and T. N. Cooper, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy: Studies in the History of Medieval Religion Volume XV* (Woodbridge 1999) pp.66-67, 69-70.

⁹⁹ *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1127-1128. Shannon McSheffrey and Norman Tanner, *Lollards of Coventry 1486-1522* (Cambridge 2003), pp. 346-347.

¹⁰⁰ Register of William Booth fos.112r,112v, Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.729.

¹⁰¹ Morton, Archdeacon of Chester and later Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Bere Regis or Milborne St. Andrew. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 1318 – 1320; Christopher Harper-Bill, "Morton, John (d.1500)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19363>].

¹⁰² Docket was from Sherborne, most of his benefices were in Salisbury Diocese and he was buried in the Cathedral. His only Lichfield appointment was a Chancellor from 1489 until his death in 1501. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 190-191. Hawkins was Archdeacon of Stafford from 1459 to 1467, Prebendary of Dasset Parva, the least valuable prebend, worth only 3s. 4d., from 1471 until his death in 1479, and also Precentor of Salisbury from 1471 until he died. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 891-892. Edmunds held only one Lichfield prebend, but became Vicar of St. Michael's, Coventry from 1457.

¹⁰³ Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.816

elsewhere, and was also Rector of Matlock and Prebendary of Wolvey and Colwich in Lichfield.¹⁰⁴ William Thomas and William Moggys attended Exeter College, Oxford; Thomas held two Devon rectories in addition to the Dasset Parva prebend from 1481 until he died in 1486;¹⁰⁵ Moggys's only Lichfield appointment was as Archdeacon of Stafford from 1467 to 1497, while he held many benefices elsewhere in plurality.¹⁰⁶

Worcester diocese provided Lichfield with three canons in the late fifteenth century, Precentors William Vauce and his successor Robert Slymbridge and John More of Evesham.¹⁰⁷ From York Diocese came Dean Yotton and John Fox, Archdeacon of Salop and Prebendary of Dasset Parva, Curborough, Pipa Minor and Freeford.¹⁰⁸

The place of origin is noted for some other canons. John Argentyne, doctor to Edward V and Prince Arthur, held three Lichfield prebends between 1494 and his death in 1508, with other benefices elsewhere, and was born in Bottisham, Cambridgeshire.¹⁰⁹ John Cokkys was granted leave to study from Lincoln Diocese so possibly originated from there, though previously he had held benefices in Worcestershire and Oxfordshire.¹¹⁰ Lawrence Cokkys, Prebendary of Ufton Decani from 1465 to 1485, came from Streetly, Berkshire, and Thomas Danet, Prebendary of

¹⁰⁴ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 618. He held benefices in the dioceses of Norwich, Winchester, Bath and Wells and Lincoln.

¹⁰⁵ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 1862.

¹⁰⁶ Moggys was active in Worcester diocesan administration and requested burial at Hartlebury, Worcestershire, where he had been rector from 1462 to his death in 1497, apart from a brief gap from 1467 to 1472. He was granted a papal dispensation to hold an additional incompatible benefice in 1466. Emden *B.R.U.O.* p. 1287-1288.

¹⁰⁷ Vauce (or Vaws) probably died before 30 July 1479, but his date of death remains uncertain since no date is given for the collation or admission of his successor Robert Slymbridge. Le Neve, p.8, Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1943-4 and 1712-13. More was Prebendary of Flixton from 1493 to 1502, *B.R.U.O.* p.1304

¹⁰⁸ Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 667. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 714 – 715.

¹⁰⁹ *B.R.U.C.* pp.15-16. Peter Murray Jones, 'Argentine, John (c.1443-1508)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article642>].

¹¹⁰ *B.R.U.O.* p. 457.

Gaia Major from 1473 to 1483, was born in Bromkinsthorpe, Leicestershire.¹¹¹ The only foreign canon in this period, Giovanni Gigli, was born in Bruges, into a family of merchants from Lucca.¹¹²

Of the seventy-seven Lichfield canons within the time frame 1475 to 1500, only the thirty-one mentioned above have any place of birth or diocese of origin mentioned. Such information might be expected in the cases of famous men like Morton and Gigli. Curiously, nothing is known of the long serving residentiaries who are well known in the history of the cathedral, Reynold, Milley and Sherborne, and even Heywood's family remains obscure.¹¹³ A minority, eleven, came from the diocese, which is fewer than might be expected compared to other dioceses.¹¹⁴ For the rest the only clues are in the information, where it exists, about ordination and benefices which can never lead to anything more than conjecture about origins. No firm statistical conclusions can be drawn when the origins almost half the canons are unknown.

Information about the social background of the Lichfield canons is no easier to find than their dates and places of birth. Frequently the canons are no more than names on lists, from which it might be assumed that their families were of no importance to the recorders of information. Occasionally it is stated, or can be deduced, that canons were of noble or gentle birth and these were often the ones with

¹¹¹ *B.R.U.O.* pp. 457-458, 540-541.

¹¹² See above Chapter 4, footnotes 54, 135, 188 and below.

¹¹³ In his 1925 address given on the Feast of St. Chad, *Thomas Heywode, Dean*, Dean H.E. Savage suggests that Heywood's devotion to St. Blaise, the patron saint of the wool-combers, was because his inherited wealth came from that trade. Savage also suggests that since St. Blaise was popular in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where wool-combing guilds flourished in the fifteenth century, Heywood must have come from that area, but he offers no definitive proof.

¹¹⁴ See footnote 74 above.

more successful careers. George Strangeways's father, mentioned above, if correctly identified, was Sir James, "miles", a knight and as Speaker of the Commons involved in political life. Though details are lacking, George is described as a chaplain to Henry VII to whom he presented a Book of Hours originally created for René of Anjou, a prestigious gift, suggesting a family of significance.¹¹⁵ Certainly the family was connected by marriage to many of the great families of the North, including Neville, Darcy, Dacre, Aske and Clifford.¹¹⁶ Edmund Hals, holder of several prebends and Archdeaconry of Derby, was presumably gently born, since his kinsman Bishop John Hals, who promoted him, was the son of a Justice of King's Bench from Kingsbridge, Devon; Edmund's only connection with Devon was a rectory he held there until his death, while his ordination and other benefices were in Lichfield Diocese.¹¹⁷ Edmund Audley, Prebendary of Gaia Minor from 1475 to 1480, was the son of James, Lord Audley and apparently benefited from his noble birth. He held many benefices, with a papal dispensation to hold an additional incompatible one granted in 1467, though not ordained deacon till 1471; he held cathedral canonries, a royal appointment to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the archdeaconries of the East Riding and Essex. An example of his absenteeism is shown by a papal indult of 1477 allowing him to visit his East Riding archdeaconry by deputy. He became Bishop successively of Rochester in 1480, Hereford in 1492 and Salisbury from 1502 until his death in 1524. He lacked any links to Lichfield and never resided there.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1796-7. See footnotes 92 and 93 above.

¹¹⁶ See footnote 94 above. Further details of family connections are found in Flower's edition of the Visitation report p.299 and on the website published by the strangewaysfamily.org.uk based on the herald's tour of Yorkshire in 1563-4.

¹¹⁷ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 856.

¹¹⁸ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 75 -76, Rosenthal p. 8. Edmund's status is suggested by the fact that his aid was invoked by the University of Cambridge when it feared the king's displeasure in 1481.

Hugh Oldham's career illustrates the importance for advancement of having the right family and political connections. His family was probably minor Lancashire gentry, good enough for him possibly to have been educated with James Stanley, the future Bishop of Ely, in the household of James's father, Lord Stanley, later Earl of Derby and stepfather to Henry VII.¹¹⁹ Oldham entered the service of William Smythe, also born in Prestwich and educated in Stanley's household; Smythe was later important in the Tudor regime and Bishop of Lichfield and later Lincoln. Oldham apparently had no benefices before Henry VII's accession in 1485. Significantly within a month of the Battle of Bosworth he gained the London rectory of St. Mildred's, Bread Street.¹²⁰ In 1492 he became a Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, a royal appointment. In Lichfield Diocese, Oldham acquired the Deanery of St. John's, Chester, the Mastership of St. John's Hospital, Lichfield, recently restored by his old employer, Smythe, now the Bishop, and two prebends, without residing.¹²¹ He subsequently received many more benefices, finally in 1504 becoming Bishop of Exeter.¹²² He had the means to found Manchester Grammar School and to donate the enormous sum of 6000 marks towards the establishment, by

¹¹⁹ Mumford, pp. 32-33. That Hugh Oldham was educated in the Stanley household is stated in both Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp.453-4 and *B.R.U.O.* pp.453-4 and the printed edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but entirely omitted from the new on-line version, Nicholas Orme, 'Oldham, Hugh (c.1450-1519)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20685>]. However, later events suggest that, as a young man, at some point he came to the notice of Lady Margaret, Lord Stanley and William Smythe, all of whom had property or family connections in the same area of Lancashire.

¹²⁰ St. Mildred's, Bread Street was the parish adjoining that of St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe where Lord Stanley had his London house. Mumford, pp.62-63. Emden incorrectly states that Oldham became Dean of Wimborne Minster in 1485, but Patricia H. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge 1993) p.204 prints Henry VII's original orders in Latin from a Miscellaneous Book of the Duchy of Lancaster appointing William Smythe and Hugh Oldham to the Deanery of Wimborne in 1485 and 1499 respectively, as is asserted also in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online edn.* and Mumford, p.65.

¹²¹ For details of Oldham's career see Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp.1396-7, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 433-43, Nicholas Orme, 'Oldham, Hugh (c.1450-1519)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20685>] and Mumford, pp. 77 – 104. Emden erroneously states that Oldham became Dean of Wimborne Minster in 1485, but the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* gives the position to William Smythe, in September 1485. Oldham became Dean of Wimborne in 1499. See footnote 120. Oldham held the prebends of Colwich, from 1495 to 1500, and Freeford from 1501 to 1504.

¹²² The significance of Oldham's political connections is discussed below.

his friend Bishop Richard Fox, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Connection to the Booth family, also based in the Lancashire part of Lichfield Diocese, which produced so many influential clerics, could be hugely advantageous. Thomas and William Worsley were sons of Seth Worsley of Eccles, Lancashire, and his wife Margaret Booth and thus great-nephews of William and Laurence Booth, Archbishops of York. Both Worsleys were appointed to their canonries by William Booth when Bishop of Lichfield. The connection did not advance Thomas's modest career.¹²³ William, however, gained many benefices, commencing when under age, inherited landed estates from Archbishop William Booth, and died as Dean of St. Paul's.¹²⁴ Oliver Dynham and Andrew Docket seemingly benefited from their status as sons of knights. Both became royal chaplains. Dynham held many canonries, including a royal appointment at St. George's, Windsor;¹²⁵ Docket founded Queens' College, Cambridge, with extensive royal patronage from Yorkist and Lancastrian Queens.¹²⁶ John Docket, like Andrew Docket, was Chancellor of Lichfield but also held impressive preferments in many dioceses, with a papal dispensation for incompatibility, and three in the Netherlands by papal provision, and was also a royal envoy;¹²⁷ that he was

¹²³ Hannes Kleineke and Stephanie R. Hovland (edited) *The Estate and Household accounts of William Worsley Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral 1479 – 1497* (Richard III and Yorkist History Trust and London Record Society 2004) pp. 3-5. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 651, Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 2089. Emden also suggests their sister-in-law was a niece of William and Laurence Booth, the Archbishops of York, the most eminent members of the large and influential Booth ecclesiastical dynasty. Thomas is recorded only as succeeding his brother as Prebendary of Tachbrook, holding a canonry at Beverley and the Lincolnshire rectory of Waltham.

¹²⁴ William Worsley had a papal dispensation allowing him to hold benefices and canonries when under age and another to permit him to retain a third incompatible benefice. He was "a significant pluralist" and acquired both wealth and status, through his own ability, but also through connection to the Booths. He was also implicated in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy, attainted and imprisoned in the Tower, but was granted a general pardon in 1495, though at considerable financial cost. He died in 1499. Hannes Kleineke and Stephanie R. Hovland, *pp.6 -17*.

¹²⁵ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 618. He was the son of Sir John Dynham.

¹²⁶ Andrew Docket was said, according to a pedigree of 1595, to be the second son of Sir Richard Duket of Grayrigg Hall, near Kendal, Westmoreland, and his wife Mabel Bellingham. Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville and Anne Neville were all patrons of Queens' College. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p.190. Malcolm G. Underwood, 'Dokett, Andrew (c. 1410-1484)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7772>].

¹²⁷ No relationship to Andrew Docket is proved. John Docket left all his books to King's College, Cambridge, money to the poor of many places, only one of which was in Staffordshire, and was buried

a nephew of Archbishop Bourghier, a great-grandson of Edward III, can only have assisted his progress.¹²⁸

Other canons also had Royal appointments. Charles Booth, another member of the Booth family and Treasurer of Lichfield from 1495 to 1516, was a member of Prince Arthur's Council. Robert Frost, who held two prebends, was Chancellor to Prince Arthur, like Bishop Arundel, and later to Prince Henry.¹²⁹ John Argentyne was doctor to both Edward V and Prince Arthur; Henry VII presumably had no doubts about his competence. According to his memorial brass in Whittington Church, Adam Grafton was "*sumtyme chapleyn to the famous pryncys kyng Edward the V and prince Arthure*".¹³⁰ Dean Yotton was Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth Woodville and Richard Salter became Chaplain to her brother Lionel, Bishop of Salisbury. Edmund Chaderton, Archdeacon of Chester 1493-1499, served Richard III as Councillor, Chaplain, Keeper of the Hanaper and Treasurer of the King's Chamber; he was granted a general pardon in November 1485 and became Chancellor to Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's Queen.¹³¹ Thomas Barrowe, Prebendary of Curborough, was Chancellor to Richard III when Duke of Gloucester, became Master of the Rolls from 1483 until Richard's death, a Canon of the royal chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, and an envoy to Scotland.¹³² Robert Middleton, Prebendary of Dernford only from 1497 to 1499, served as a royal ambassador, held canonries at York, Wells and

in Salisbury Cathedral, thus demonstrating his lack of links to Lichfield. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 190 - 191.

¹²⁸ Archbishop Thomas Bourghier was the third son of William Bourghier, Count of Eu, and his wife, Lady Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III.

¹²⁹ *B.R.U.C.* p.245. Frost was Prebendary of Gaia Major from 1497 to 1500 and of Pipa Minor from 1500 to 1507.

¹³⁰ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 798-9 and see above.

¹³¹ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 382.

¹³² Barrowe received no appointments after 1485 apart from a canonry at Wells and there is no record of a pardon. He requested burial in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 40-41.

Lincoln and numerous other benefices and requested burial in Bruges.¹³³ Thomas Danet, Prebendary of Gaia Major, was dispensed by the Pope to hold a third incompatible benefice, held numerous rectories and cathedral canonries, but more importantly was almoner to Edward IV, Dean of St. George's, Windsor, Registrar of the Order of the Garter and a royal ambassador.¹³⁴ For all these non-resident canons Lichfield appointments were no more than sources of additional income. The only foreign canon, Giovanni Gigli, mentioned above, would never, with his wealthy international background, have considered residence in the relative anonymity of Lichfield while briefly holding the Bishopshull prebend. His career was as a royal and papal official and ambassador, acting on the European stage. His rectories, seven non-resident canonries, the archdeaconry of Gloucester and even the bishopric of Worcester were never his concern beyond the income derived from them.¹³⁵ Edward IV may have given benefices as a reward for services rendered, or to secure future support, as was probably the case in 1479 when Gigli was sent on an embassy to the Pope to discuss an Anglo-French peace treaty. Gigli's appointments included Papal Nuncio and Papal Collector in England, Prothonotary Apostolic, chief secretary to the Chancery in Rome, Resident Ambassador and King's Orator at the Roman Curia. He was taken into royal service doubtless because of his experience in the Curia and the fact that he was an outstanding Latin rhetorician and Greek scholar. On the 1479 embassy he was accompanied by the Chancellor of Lichfield, John Docket, mentioned above.

¹³³ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1277-1278.

¹³⁴ Thomas Danet held Gaia Major from 1473 till his death in 1483. He composed music himself and began a collection of manuscripts of mass settings at St. George's, Windsor, where he was buried. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 540-541.

¹³⁵ Gigli held canonries at Wells, St. Paul's, Lincoln, York, Salisbury, Lichfield and Warwick. He never visited his see and received the temporalities and was enthroned by proxy. See footnote 54 above. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 764-5, Clough, pp.130-132,139-141.

Clearly many Lichfield canons enjoyed royal patronage and were engaged in royal service, but these were careerists, not residentiaries. The careerists were not concerned with the cathedral and acquired Lichfield prebends merely as sources of income; these posts were not desirable for any other reason since they did not bestow distinction or advance careers. Their small value, as at other less wealthy cathedrals, encouraged the determined careerist to amass a portfolio of them, to which benefices with cure of souls were added; this reduced the number of available benefices, and hence increased the number of poor and unemployed clergy, an unplanned but inevitable consequence of pluralism.¹³⁶ Royal favour bestowed the highest offices of Church and State; royal favour most frequently fell on those who were well born and connected. Personal, family and geographical links between many of the Lichfield canons can clearly be seen. Dean Heywood by contrast held no royal or political office, but achieved much at the cathedral.

One bar to advancement, indeed to ordination, the first rung on the clerical ladder, was illegitimacy. Only two canons from the late fifteenth century are recorded as receiving dispensations for illegitimacy. William Orell came from the diocese but no clue to his parentage is given. On 21 February 1442 he was granted papal dispensations for promotion to all orders notwithstanding illegitimacy and to hold additional compatible and, four months later, additional incompatible, benefices. He proceeded to a modest career, holding all his benefices in the diocese.¹³⁷ Charles Booth's illegitimacy, however, was clearly no impediment to high office; he benefited from his membership of the Booth family and his friendship with William Smythe, mentioned above. He studied at Cambridge and Bologna, acquired a number of

¹³⁶ See above and Appendix 1.

¹³⁷ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 1400.

rectories and canonries, became Treasurer of Lichfield, a member of Prince Arthur's Council, Bishop of Hereford and attended Queen Catherine in 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.¹³⁸ Archbishop Laurence Booth, probably Charles's great-uncle and a Lichfield canon earlier in the century, was also illegitimate, but gained a papal dispensation and achieved even higher rank.¹³⁹

Entering royal service meant that a cleric inevitably became involved in domestic politics and possibly in international affairs. The careers of the eighteen Lichfield canons with royal connections sometimes reflected the political upheavals of the later fifteenth century. Naturally, when a king was deposed, as happened in 1461, 1470, 1471, 1483 and 1485, there were changes in royal appointments. Some canons lost office, others prospered. Lancastrians lost office in 1471 and Yorkists fell in 1485 when Henry Tudor's supporters, especially adherents of the Stanleys, rose rapidly. Morton's career is perhaps the best illustration of political survival, though he is hardly a typical canon, resident or non-resident, of any cathedral, as few rose so high. A Lancastrian, probably from minor gentry stock, he was attainted and exiled in 1461, but pardoned with the reversal of his attainder in 1471 and made Keeper of the Great Seal and a royal envoy by Edward IV. He was arrested by Richard III, again escaped to exile in France, but returned with Henry VII to become a member of his Council, Chancellor of England and Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury until his death in 1500.¹⁴⁰ Thomas Barrowe and Edmund Chaderton, noted above, gained national roles

¹³⁸ Calendar of Papal Letters, Volume 16 No.319, John Condliffe Bates (ed.), *The Register of William Bothe Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1447 – 1452* (Woodbridge 2008), D. G. Newcombe, 'Booth, Charles (d. 1535)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press; online edn., May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/42092>]. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 7.

¹³⁹ See above; Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp.78 – 79, *Le Neve* pp. 41, 48, 60, Thompson, pp.38, 42, A. J. Pollard, 'Booth, Laurence (c.1420-1480)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2888>].

¹⁴⁰ Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d.1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19363>]. Anne F. Sutton and Livia

after Richard III's usurpation. Barrowe received no pardon in 1485 and surrendered his appointments; Chaderton, however, was granted a general pardon and served Henry VII.¹⁴¹ Hugh Oldham and William Smythe, like Morton, were closely associated with Lady Margaret Beaufort. Their careers, obscure before 1485, benefited immediately from Henry Tudor's accession which had made the Stanleys the most powerful family in the country.¹⁴² By contrast, Andrew Docket, as noted, gained the patronage of Lancastrian and Yorkist consorts, for the founding of his Queen's, later Queens', College. His only royal appointment was as a Canon of St. Stephen's and he remained uninvolved in politics.¹⁴³ John Argentynne also succeeded in serving the Yorkists and Henry Tudor. He was practising medicine at Edward IV's court by 1478 and was quoted as an important source by Domenico Mancini in *The Usurpation of Richard III*.¹⁴⁴ Argentynne may have continued to serve Richard III, or spent time in France. However, after 1485 he received generous patronage from Henry VII, who appointed him Doctor and Dean of Chapel to Prince Arthur, and from his old friend Morton, who presented him to a series of lucrative canonries and benefices in London and across the country. Again the importance is shown of the

Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard III, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Two Turbulent Priests', in *The Ricardian XIX* (2009).

¹⁴¹ Barrowe was Prebendary of Curborough from 1478 until his death in 1499. He was also briefly Keeper of the Great Seal from 1 August 1485 when, on Richard's orders, he conveyed it from the Chancellor, Bishop Russell in London, to the King who was in Nottingham awaiting news of Henry Tudor's invasion. A Thomas Barrowe is documented as Dean of Wimborne Minster 1493-1499, between Smythe and Oldham, but this is not mentioned in Emden. Emden *B.R.U.C.* pp.40-41, Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (London 1955) pp. 277, 311, 328, *Calendar of Close Rolls 1476-1485 No.1458* quoted in P.W.Hammond and Anne F. Sutton, *Richard III: the Road to Bosworth Field* (London 1985) p. 212, Patricia H Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* pp. 204, 263. For Chaderton see Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.382.

¹⁴² See above for Oldham's career and footnotes 96, 119, 120, 121, 122.

¹⁴³ Anne Neville's estates were resumed by Henry VII after the deaths of Anne and Richard III. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 190, Malcolm G. Underwood, 'Docket, Andrew (c.1410 – 1484)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7772>]

¹⁴⁴ Argentynne was, as noted, doctor to Edward V and Prince Arthur. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 15 -16, Peter Murray Jones, 'Argentine, John (c. 1443 – 1508)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/642>]; Dominic Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III* translated and with an introduction by C.A.J.Armstrong (Gloucester 1989) pp.19-20, 93, 127 note 89.

Tudor-Stanley-Morton connection, to which the holding of Lichfield prebends was subordinate. Those born in Lancashire and with family links to this axis gained benefices and prebends at Lichfield which were sources of income and often stepping stones to greater things.

The actual fighting of the Wars of the Roses between Lancastrians and Yorkists left the city and the Cathedral of Lichfield untouched; it was the seventeenth century Civil War which was to cause terrible destruction. Though Bishop Hals had supported the Lancastrians, he was pardoned in 1471 and returned to royal service, but his last official duty seems to have been at Edward IV's funeral in 1483.¹⁴⁵ There is no indication that he or Dean Heywood and the Chapter exhibited any dynastic or political allegiance when the only significant event of the conflict for Lichfield occurred, Henry Tudor's entry into the city on 20 August 1485 on his way to Bosworth.¹⁴⁶ The scant contemporary evidence reveals no role played by the Lichfield clerics; Vergil does not say by whom Henry was "honourably receavyd".¹⁴⁷ Perhaps

¹⁴⁵ Hals had been a Lancastrian, enjoying the support of Margaret of Anjou whose chaplain he was, but he served Edward IV in the 1460s and after 1471; the king dined with him in Lichfield on 31 May, 1461 and stayed there again in 1473. Hals was present at the reburial of Richard of York and at Edward IV's funeral, but was not part of the government of either Richard III or Henry VII. *College of Arms MS 1.7 ff.7-8v*, text printed in Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with Ralph Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (London 2005), Woolgar, p.455, Rosemary C.E. Hayes, 'Hals, John (c.1407 – 1490) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, May 2009; online edn., May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95155>], Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.85.,

¹⁴⁶ Apparently Henry Tudor made a show of force there, but then became separated from his army, spending the night between Lichfield and Tamworth. He rejoined his men and met his stepfather, Lord Stanley, the next day and proceeded to the battlefield at Bosworth on 22 August. Richard Holmes, *War Walks 2* (London 1997) p.72. The army, despite Sir William Stanley's efforts to make as much show as possible, with a reception including a cannonade, was probably not impressive, having been on the road for over three weeks. Later writers seem to have interpreted the sources liberally, see for example Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Stroud 1985) p. 92. Vergil, the historian writing for the Tudors, gives no details and it could be argued that the ballads, written for entertainment, are less reliable.

¹⁴⁷ In *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London 1844) it is stated only that Henry was "honourably receavyd" in Lichfield, p.218. *The Ballad of Lady Bessy* (www.archive.org/stream/mostpleasantsong00londrich_djvu.text) verse 42 states that only Sir William Stanley, not Henry, went to Lichfield and is very vague about geography and chronology. *The Ballad of Bosworth Field*, the text of which is in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS Ballads and Romances*

the uncertainty of the outcome of the Tudor invasion caused the clergy prudently to stay away; there is no reference to anything other than Chapter business in the Act Book.¹⁴⁸ While the appointment of bishops was a political matter, as in the cases of William Smythe, Hugh Oldham and John Morton, there is suggestion of royal influence only in the selection of perhaps five out of the seventeen deans elected under the Yorkist kings; nine of these deans were in royal service.¹⁴⁹ William Worsley, for example, owed his elevation to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1479 to his Booth connections, despite their Lancastrian associations. There is no evidence that Thomas Heywood's election as Dean of Lichfield in 1457, before the civil wars had caused any changes of dynasty, was in any way a political appointment or that he was involved in national politics.¹⁵⁰

There is insufficient information to make any judgement about the relationship between the Lichfield canons' backgrounds and ecclesiastical success beyond that, predictably, good family certainly aided advancement. Clearly a number of the Lichfield canons were well born and acquired important benefices and royal appointments through family connections. Many careerists were from Lancashire, in the diocese, and had family, geographical and, crucially, political links to the Stanley and Booth family networks, which had their power bases there; association with Smythe, Oldham and other servants of Lady Margaret, like Reginald Bray, brought access, so vital for advancement, to Lord Stanley, to Lady Margaret and ultimately to

(<http://www.r3.org/bosworth/ballad2.html>), states that "guns ... they cracken on hie to cheere the countye" v.98-100, lines 392-400, the source of the idea of a cannonade.

¹⁴⁸ *Chapter Acts II* fos.12v and 13r.

¹⁴⁹ A.Compton Reeves, Cathedral Deans of the Yorkist Age in *The Ricardian Volume XVIII* (2008) p.91

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid* p.88, Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.88. Heywood remained in post, as noted above, through all the dynastic changes till his death in 1492.

Henry VII.¹⁵¹ Thus many canons had personal links. However, the origins of many others are unknown; among this group were men who were successful beyond Lichfield, initially through education and talent and later through acquired influence, like Morton.¹⁵² None of the residentiaries had noble blood and most were firmly linked to the diocese by birth, ordination and the location of their benefices.

Examination of these Lichfield canons' records shows very clearly that pluralism was extremely common, almost the norm, among them, resident or non-resident, regardless of where they were born or whether their families were distinguished. The values of benefices, whether cathedral dignities, prebends or parish rectories, varied enormously and thus to achieve a comfortable income the holding of more than one post was deemed essential. The Church, though, did not permit indiscriminate acquisition. A papal dispensation was necessary for the holding of more than one incompatible benefice, that is one that had "cure of souls". That the practice had become virtually institutionalised is shown by the large number of recorded dispensations issued to the canons, whether residentiaries or not.¹⁵³ Since cathedral canonries were without "cure of souls" they could be, and were, held in plurality, as for example in the case of Edmund Chaderton who simultaneously held canonries at St. Stephen's, Westminster, Southwell, Lincoln, Beverley, Salisbury, St. Paul's and Chichester, while also Archdeacon of Sarum and Chester and incumbent of many rectories; these incomes supported him as he served both Richard III and Henry

¹⁵¹ See the discussion of the careers of William Smythe and Hugh Oldham above.

¹⁵² It has been asserted that Morton was educated at the Benedictine Cerne Abbey in Dorset, though Emden states there is no evidence. He studied Civil Law at Oxford, practised law in London and gained the patronage of the aristocratic Archbishop Bourghier, which opened his way to the highest offices of church and state. Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1318 – 1320 and Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d.1500)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/19363>]. For Bourghier see footnote 129.

¹⁵³ See for example the discussion by Lepine, pp.108-109.

VII.¹⁵⁴ Parish rectories, however, did have this spiritual responsibility so a dispensation was necessary in order to hold more than one. Medieval and sixteenth century criticism of pluralism and the 1529 legislation have been noted above. The issue was not simply that priests held more than one benefice, but rather that their consequent and inevitable non-residence led to inadequate, or indeed no, deputies, or vicars, being appointed.¹⁵⁵ From this flowed the fury at the idea of clerics drawing multiple stipends while leaving their flocks untended. The real effects of pluralism and non-residence cannot properly be judged, since the evidence is anecdotal and often partisan; probably many clerics did make adequate provision for care by appointing deputies paid from incomes enhanced by pluralism. Many stipends were indeed so small that they did not provide an adequate income. In Lichfield Diocese 79% were valued at less than £15 per annum.¹⁵⁶ Of course, some benefices carried substantial incomes, but they were rare.¹⁵⁷ At Lichfield, not only were the values of the prebends very small, but the common fund was also meagre, so there was every incentive for the canons to become pluralists.¹⁵⁸ The careerists were the greatest pluralists and non-residents, regarding prebends as merely sources of additional income, as noted in the case of Gigli and others.¹⁵⁹ The residentiaries generally held fewer benefices than the non-residents, but were still pluralists. Dean Heywood was granted papal dispensations to hold incompatible benefices in 1433 and 1446, when he was holding the rectories of Bosworth and Rolleston. In 1456 he acquired another

¹⁵⁴ Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.382.

¹⁵⁵ J. C. Dickinson, *The Later Middle Ages* (London 1979) pp.266-270.

¹⁵⁶ About £4 was the standard salary for a parish chaplain in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Less than a quarter of livings were worth £15 and many were only £5 or £7. There were a few very valuable livings, like Winwick, Lancashire, valued at £102 9s. 8d. For a discussion see Swanson, *Church and Society pp. 46-50* and Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530* (Harlow 1989) pp. 44-45.

¹⁵⁷ See footnote 108. The Deanery at Salisbury, for example, was worth over £200. *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.144. Edwards, pp.39-50.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendices I and II and *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.144.

¹⁵⁹ See above and footnotes 54, 112, 135, 188.

dispensation to hold an additional incompatible benefice other than a parish church or a perpetual vicarage. In quick succession he was admitted to and relinquished the vicarage of Chebsey and the rectory of Trusley, while retaining Bosworth till 1483, and probably Rolleston.¹⁶⁰ The long-serving residentiary Roger Walle was granted a dispensation in 1443 to hold an additional incompatible benefice, or any two incompatible benefices not being parish churches; he was certainly vicar of Maxstoke and rector of Grendon simultaneously.¹⁶¹ Arguably the pluralism of the Chapter produced incomes sufficient to allow them to remain at their posts and create the stability which is so evident in the later fifteenth century.¹⁶² Another result of the growth of pluralism was the lack of benefices. There were always more clergy than clerical jobs so pluralism exacerbated the situation. There were only twenty-one diocesan bishops in England and Wales until the Reformation, cathedrals had a fixed number of canonries and the number of parishes rarely changed.¹⁶³ While depriving clergy of benefices, pluralism did nonetheless provide some of them with lowly positions as substitutes for the absentees.

Information about the education of the fifteenth century Lichfield Canons prior to university is rarely available. It would probably have been at a grammar school, a school within a religious house or in the household of an important nobleman.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Heywood also received a papal rehabilitation for misstatements concerning the course of his studies. Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 897-898.

¹⁶¹ Emden *B.R.U.O.* p. 1966.

¹⁶² For further discussion of pluralism among the residentiaries see below, Chapter 5.

¹⁶³ Swanson, *Church and Society* pp.29-30, Cooper, *Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy*, pp.62-63, Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England*, pp.46-50.

¹⁶⁴ The education of Hugh Oldham in Lord Stanley's household and of John Morton at Cerne Abbey is noted above in this chapter. According to tradition, William Smythe, Bishop of Lichfield 1491-1495, was educated at Knowsley, with others, in the household of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of the future Henry VII and second wife of Lord Stanley; Knowsley was in the parish of Prescott, Lancashire, where Smythe was born. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.1721.

Occasionally chantry priests in churches taught a few boys as part of their duties.¹⁶⁵ Cathedral choristers were taught singing, grammar and writing, though organisation varied from place to place.¹⁶⁶ At Lichfield the Succentor, the Precentor's deputy and leader of the vicars choral, was said to rule the song school through his official.¹⁶⁷ Gradually cathedral choristers began to live in common;¹⁶⁸ at Lichfield, despite Bishop Hals's bequest in 1490 specifically for the building of a house for them, they did not have one until Bishop Blythe assigned them one on the north side of the Close in 1527.¹⁶⁹ Since their names are not recorded, it is impossible to know if any of the Lichfield choristers went on to become canons there, or elsewhere, but probably many did proceed to a clerical career, for which there is evidence of specific provision at Lincoln and Wells.¹⁷⁰ Eton and Winchester are almost the only medieval schools to have records and they are the only ones identified as educating Lichfield canons. John Argentyne was a King's Scholar at Eton as were John Docket, Thomas Barrowe and John Stubbes.¹⁷¹ Thomas Edmonds and Laurence Cokkys, Prebendaries of Bishopshull, 1450 to 1481, and Ufton Decani, 1465 to 1486, were Scholars of Winchester College. They held only these appointments at Lichfield and were non-resident.¹⁷² It could be concluded that attendance at these schools was either because the pupils came from families which were already successful or the boys themselves showed promise and were intended to have successful clerical careers; prebends or

¹⁶⁵ Edwards, p.166.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.167 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.167.

¹⁶⁸ They began to live in common at Salisbury 1314 – 1322 and at Wells from 1348. Edwards, pp. 312-314.

¹⁶⁹ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, pp.164-165.

¹⁷⁰ At Lincoln the Dean and Chapter had the right to nominate a chorister to a bible clerkship at Lincoln College, Oxford. At Wells money given to the choristers was saved for them individually, to be given to them on admission to an English university. Edwards, p.315.

¹⁷¹ Peter Murray Jones, 'Argentine, John (c.1443-1508)', Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p.15-16. John Docket was Chancellor of Lichfield from 1489 till his death in 1501. Emden: *B.R.U.C.* pp. 190-191. Barrowe, as noted above, was prebendary of Curborough and Master of the Rolls, Chancellor and Keeper of the Privy Seal to Richard III, Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 40-41. Stubbes's only appointment at Lichfield was to the prebend of Dernford, 1474-1486, Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp.563-564.

¹⁷² Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.626 and pp.457-458. These prebends were their only Lichfield appointments.

dignities at Lichfield in such cases would have provided no more than modest additional incomes for absentees.

The university education of the later fifteenth century Lichfield Canons, resident and non-resident, was mostly undertaken at Oxford and Cambridge. Certainly all the dignitaries were graduates and few canons appear not to have taken degrees. Some also studied abroad and had more than one degree. Twenty canons had degrees in canon law, including Walle and Vesey, seven in civil law, including John Morton and Charles Booth, and twelve in both canon and civil law, including Heywood and Oldham.¹⁷³ The preponderance of law degrees was arguably because law was essential for those intending to become “career” clerics, since the Church had an enormous amount of legal business to transact. Many entries in the Chapter Act Books concern routine legal matters, but there were very lucrative careers to be forged in the courts of bishops, archbishops and popes. The eight theologians included the scholars Dean Yotton, George Strangeways and John Frysby.¹⁷⁴ Edmund Audley, after relinquishing his only Lichfield prebend, became successively Bishop of Rochester, Hereford and Salisbury, his elevation perhaps a result of his aristocratic

¹⁷³The other canon lawyers were William Fitzherbert, John Booth, Edmund Hals, John Fox, Richard Sherborne, William Duffield, John Sharpe, John More, Robert Frost, Ralph Heicote, Richard Cowland, John Cokkys, Richard Pede, Thomas Worsley, John Hervey, Lawrence Cokkys, William Jonys and John Radcliffe. Le Neve only credits Oldham and Pykman with degrees in Civil law, but Emden asserts they also had degrees in Canon Law. Le Neve pp. 26 and 41, Emden *B.R.U.C.* pp. 464-465 and *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1396 – 1397. John Radcliffe is not included in Emden, but was a Doctor of Canon Law according to Le Neve p.24. Other canons with degrees in civil law were John Stubbs, Sampson Aleyn, Robert Middleton, Humphrey Harwardyn and John Bride. Those with degrees in civil and canon law were also William Vauce, Robert Slymbridge, Richard Salter, Giovanni Gigli, Thomas Morton, Edward Strangeways, Thomas Reynold, Thomas Barrowe and Adam Grafton. See Chapter 5 below for discussion of the residentiaries’ education.

¹⁷⁴Frysby and Strangeways were the only theologians from the Lichfield Canons present at the Lollard trials in 1486 and 1488 respectively. The other theologians were the non-residents John Argentyne, John Docket, Thomas Danet, Edmund Audley and William Wrixham. Emden *B.R.U.C.* pp.667. See below Chapter 6.

birth, rather than his education.¹⁷⁵ Fifteen canons were only Bachelors or Masters of Arts, but clearly this did not prevent the achievement of high office. Andrew Docket, for example, founded Queens' College, Cambridge and enjoyed extensive royal patronage.¹⁷⁶ Also in this group were Hugh Lehe, present at the Lollard trials of 1486 and 1488, and the great pluralists, Richard Egerton and Oliver Dynham. Both must have enjoyed comfortable incomes from their numerous benefices; Dynham was Chaplain to Edward IV, having begun his career with a papal dispensation to hold two benefices when only nineteen years old. There were only three graduates in Medicine among the Lichfield Canons between 1475 and 1500.¹⁷⁷ John Argentyne, physician to Edward V and Prince Arthur, took a doctorate in theology late in life, in 1504;¹⁷⁸ Thomas Edmonds had no eminent patients or distinguished career.¹⁷⁹ John Cokkys was a Bachelor of Canon Law as well as of Medicine, but achieved little of note.¹⁸⁰ No late fifteenth century Lichfield canon had a music degree.¹⁸¹

Eight canons had attended universities abroad, in addition to Oxford or Cambridge, before gaining Lichfield prebends. Argentyne certainly studied in Italy, probably at Ferrara, but possibly at Padua.¹⁸² Slymbridge, Precentor probably from 1479 until

¹⁷⁵ See above in this chapter and footnote 119. Emden asserts Audley had a doctorate in theology which is not noted in Le Neve. Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 75-76.

¹⁷⁶ See above in this chapter. The others with degrees in Arts were James Stanley, William Chauntre, William Moggys, William Sommastre, Thomas Hawkins, John Geffray, William Thomas, John Moleners, William Smith, Robert Mome, William Orell.

¹⁷⁷ The only other canon in the fifteenth century with a medical degree was M. John Arundel, a Doctor of Medicine, who held the prebend of Dernford from 1443 to 1459 when he became Bishop of Chichester. He died in 1477. Le Neve, p.33.

¹⁷⁸ Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp.15 – 16.

¹⁷⁹ As well as having a dispensation to hold an additional incompatible benefice, Edmonds was a bearer of letters from Oxford University to Henry VI and the Marquis of Suffolk and became Archbishop Bourghier's chaplain. See footnote 127. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.626.

¹⁸⁰ There is reference to his attendance on a patient in Oxford. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p.457 from *P.R.O.*, *C1/45/175*.

¹⁸¹ The only canon with a music degree in the fifteenth century was Thomas St. Just, D.Mus., Archdeacon of Chester 1462-1467, who died in 1467. Emden *B.R.U.C.* p.503.

¹⁸² See above footnote 132. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p. 15 -16; Peter Murray Jones, 'Argentine, John (c. 1443 – 1508)'.

1504, also studied in Bologna where he was awarded a Doctorate in Canon Law.¹⁸³

William Fitzherbert, Chancellor from 1476 until 1489, gained the same degree at

Ferrara.¹⁸⁴ John Doket, his successor until 1501, studied at Bologna and Padua.¹⁸⁵

Charles Booth, Treasurer from 1495 to 1516, was admitted D.C.L. of Bologna.

Edward Strangeways studied in Bologna, probably for a Doctorate in Canon Law;¹⁸⁶

John Frysby also studied there, possibly gaining a doctorate in Theology¹⁸⁷. Gigli

studied at Ferrara and, unsurprisingly, Lucca.¹⁸⁸ Bologna, Padua and Ferrara were the only foreign universities recorded for the English canons, with Bologna the most popular.

Evidence of a university education is missing for some Lichfield canons. Parish priests could be trained locally, not at university, but by the second half of the fifteenth century nearly all the higher clergy were graduates. However, twelve canons neither appear in the university registers nor are credited with degrees in Le Neve. Christopher Talbot held two prebends and became Archdeacon of Chester. Since this was a position of considerable authority and independence and three of his four successors became bishops, he probably did attend university.¹⁸⁹ Thomas Milley, a residentiary from 1457 until his death in 1505 and Archdeacon of Coventry, though not listed as a graduate, is noted as an example of a scholar introduced by Bishop Hals and referred to as “Dr. Milley” in the context of his refounding of the Beacon Street

¹⁸³ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1712 – 1713.

¹⁸⁴ Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 689.

¹⁸⁵ John Doket gained D.Cn.L. at Padua and Cambridge. Emden, *B.R.U.C.* pp. 190 – 191.

¹⁸⁶ Edward Strangeways was Prebendary of Colwich 1500 to 1504. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1795 – 1796 and Appendix pp.2217 – 2218; Le Neve, p. 26 & note.

¹⁸⁷ John Frysby was Prebendary of Hansacre 1465 to 1489, Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 729.

¹⁸⁸ Clough, pp.128-129, Le Neve, p. 22 & note, Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp.764-765, Chapter 4 and footnotes 54, 112 and 135 above.

¹⁸⁹ Payment was made from Chester to secure considerable freedom from episcopal authority. See above footnote 43. John Voysey, Cuthbert Tunstall and William Knight became respectively Bishops of Exeter, London and Bath and Wells.

almshouse in 1504, known as “Dr. Milley’s Hospital”.¹⁹⁰ Two other residentiaries were without university records: Henry Edyall was Prebendary of Gaia Minor from 1480 to 1520;¹⁹¹ Richard Delves, held Pipa Parva, Bobenhull and Stotfold from 1485 to his death in 1527, came from a prominent local family and served in the influential Chapter under the frequently absent Dean Denton in the sixteenth century.¹⁹² Eight other non-resident canons were also non-graduates, only holding one or two prebends.¹⁹³ Emden notes three canons as attending Oxford or Cambridge, but without degrees recorded. Edmund Chaderton, who had a distinguished career, noted above, and John Bellingham, who briefly held two prebends, were non-resident.¹⁹⁴ Whelpdale was a long serving residentiary.¹⁹⁵

Since records are incomplete statistics must be treated cautiously, but tentative conclusions may be drawn. Seventy-seven canons were appointed to Lichfield Cathedral between 1475 and 1500. Of these, forty-one studied at Oxford and fifteen at Cambridge, a not unreasonable distribution given that around 1450 Cambridge had perhaps 1,300 students to Oxford’s 1,700.¹⁹⁶ Three, Morton, Danet and Frost studied at both.¹⁹⁷ Eight studied at Italian universities, as well as at Oxford or Cambridge. Six

¹⁹⁰ Milley was assigned a house in the Close in 1461 which he rebuilt. He appears to have been a graduate, but the evidence may not exist to assign him definitely to Oxford or Cambridge. A “Master Thomas Mylly”, that is a graduate, is recorded as being ordained in Hereford Diocese, to the Cathedral, in 1446 who could be the same man. A.T.Bannister (ed.) *The Register of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford (1422-1448)* Canterbury and York Society Publications 23(London 1919). *V.C.H.Staffs. XIV* p.66. *V.C.H. Staffs. III* pp.159 and p.275.

¹⁹¹ Edyall built a red brick courtyard house in the Close as noted above, Chapter 4. *V.C.H. XIV* p.66.

¹⁹² Cooper, ‘Oligarchy and Conflict’ pp. 44-45. James Denton was Dean from 1522 to 1533.

¹⁹³ Thomas Whitegreve, Edmund Farrington, Thomas Neylson, John Meneley, Peter Greves, William Boyden and John Vernon held only one prebend each at Lichfield and were non-resident, as was George Dawne, who held two. Le Neve, pp. 26, 38, 39, 46, 48, 54 and 62.

¹⁹⁴ For Chaderton see above and Emden *B.R.U.O.* p. 382. Bellingham, Emden *B.R.U.C* p. 53.

¹⁹⁵ *B.R.U.C* p. 633.

¹⁹⁶ T.H.Aston, G.D.Duncan and T.A.R.Evans, pp. 85-86.

¹⁹⁷ Morton’s only Lichfield appointment was as Archdeacon of Chester from 1474 until 1478 when he became Bishop of Ely. Christopher Harper-Bill, ‘Morton, John (d. 1500)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19363>], Le Neve p.14; Emden, *B.R.U.O.* pp. 1318-1320. Danet and Frost were both Prebendaries of Gaia

have degrees cited in Le Neve, but no entry in the biographical registers. Only twelve have no degrees recorded at all. The majority studied law or theology and only three graduated in medicine, one of whom, Argentyne, also had a doctorate in theology.

Major, Danet from 1473 until his death in 1483 and Frost from 1497 to 1500 when he moved to Pipa Minor until he resigned in 1507. Neither had any other Lichfield appointments. Le Neve pp. 41 and 49, Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp.540-541 and pp. 731-732.

Chapter 5

Dean Heywood and the Residentiaries

From 1480 onwards the residentiaries can be identified from the extant Chapter Act books which recorded those who attended Chapter meetings. By then the usual number appears to have shrunk to five.¹⁹⁸ Sometimes only three are recorded as present with Dean Heywood, Milley, Whelpdale and Walle, though Reynold was also resident.¹⁹⁹ Later they were joined by Sherborne, who was admitted into residence on 8 June 1481, but on 3 August was given a second warning to come into residence.²⁰⁰ In April, May and June 1490 Heywood, Milley, Reynold, Strangeways and Hals were present.²⁰¹ Sometimes, all were present, as in 1486.²⁰² Later Richard Salter and Henry Edyall became residents and the latter, like Milley and Strangeways, built a house in the Close.²⁰³ Bishop Hals endeavoured to change the nature of the Chapter from a mixture of retired royal servants and lawyers by introducing and promoting scholars, such as Strangeways, Salter, Milley and Yotton, who became Dean after Heywood's death.²⁰⁴ As noted above, the extended service of these canons, mostly under Heywood and during the long episcopate of Hals, gave considerable stability to the administration of the Cathedral, the Close and the Diocese, but also allowed them to tighten their grip on the levers of power through their roles in diocesan government, the relatively light burden of episcopal visitation and the absence of

¹⁹⁸ *V.C.H. Staffs. iii* p.160.

¹⁹⁹ The first entry on *fo.1r* of the *Chapter Act Book* commencing in 1480 states the presence of Dean Heywood, Roger Walle, John Whelpdale and Thomas Milley, resident canons.

²⁰⁰ *C.A. II* ff. 2v and 3r.

²⁰¹ *C.A.III* fo. 1r.

²⁰² *C.A. II* fo. 14 shows this group present at meetings in November 1486.

²⁰³ See above in Chapter 4 and *V.C.H. Staffs.XIV*, pp.57 -67 for details of buildings in the Close and canonical houses. Milley, Strangeways and Edyall were all long term residents.

²⁰⁴ *V.C.H. Staffs.III*, p.159.

conflict between Chapter and Bishop.²⁰⁵ Relations between Hals and Heywood were apparently cordial, each operating within his own sphere.²⁰⁶ There were no wholesale changes in the personnel of the Chapter at any time from the arrival of Heywood in 1433 and Walle in 1442 until the sixteenth century; the continuity and length of service of many canons meant that some, like Edyall and Egerton, served under Heywood, but continued as residentiaries up to the eve of the Reformation.²⁰⁷ This produced stability, but perhaps showed lack of ambition, acceptance of having achieved enough in career terms or desire for quiet retirement. However, the story of Heywood's time at Lichfield rather suggests that having become Dean he decided to make Lichfield his life's work.²⁰⁸ Additionally this period saw no upheavals in procedures and no great building projects.²⁰⁹

The education of the residentiaries was similar to that of the whole group of fifteenth century canons in that there was a preponderance of law degrees among them; others had degrees in Arts or Theology, but none had studied music or medicine or attended a European university, which was perhaps only for an ambitious minority. Only Milley and Edyall fail to appear in the University Registers, but it is highly unlikely that they lacked a university education; probably records were simply lost.²¹⁰ Only Yotton and Whelpdale attended Cambridge, which is in line with the relative sizes of the Oxford and Cambridge groups in the cohort as a whole.²¹¹ Yotton, an

²⁰⁵ See above Chapter 4 and footnote 66.

²⁰⁶ *V.C.H. Staffs. III* p.159.

²⁰⁷ See above Chapter 4. Egerton died as Prebendary of Whittington and Berkswick in 1538.

²⁰⁸ See Savage for a laudatory assessment of Heywood and below for a discussion of Heywood's achievements.

²⁰⁹ Bishop Hals issued statutes in 1465 to remove anomalies and to improve procedures. There were no further statutes until 1526. *V.C.H. Staffs. III* p.160.

²¹⁰ Milley is cited as one of the scholars introduced by Bishop Hals. See above, footnote 190 and *V.C.H. Staffs. III* pp.159 and p.275. Edyall built his house and in the Close and held the prebend of Gaia Minor from 1480 to 1520. *V.C.H. Staffs. XIV* p. 63. Le Neve pp. 43, 51.

²¹¹ See above and footnote 196. T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, pp. 12-18.

M.A. and a Doctor of Theology, had an academic career from about 1450 to the early 1480s.²¹² Whelpdale appears in the Cambridge Register, as already noted, but is neither credited with a degree nor recorded as receiving a dispensation to hold additional incompatible benefices; he held only a Lincoln canonry apart from his Lichfield prebends.²¹³ The other residentiaries were all from Oxford. Heywood was a Bachelor of Canon and Civil Law and a Doctor of Canon Law. Walle's degree was in Canon Law. Though he had few benefices, he acquired, like so many others, a papal dispensation to hold additional incompatible benefices.²¹⁴ Reynold, a Bachelor of Canon and Civil Law, was a key member of the Chapter and Diocese as Vicar General in Spirituals to Bishops Hals and Smythe and Keeper of the Spiritualities *sede vacante* 1490 – 1491; he held several rectories, though no dispensation is recorded, and was the incumbent of six Lichfield prebends consecutively.²¹⁵ Strangeways, Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology by 1486, attended the Lollard trial in 1488.²¹⁶ Sherborne was a Bachelor both of Arts and Canon Law and Salter was a Bachelor of Civil Law and a Doctor of Canon Law; both held many benefices with papal dispensations.²¹⁷ Though several canons had papal dispensations, the residentiaries were generally less engaged in pluralism than the non-residents; they had fewer benefices and resided in Lichfield, where they performed the duties pertaining to the posts they held in the Chapter, whereas the greatest pluralists, like Gigli, Morton or Chaderton were primarily engaged on papal or royal business and

²¹² Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p.667. Yotton was admitted to his first Lichfield prebend, Flixton, in 1483.

²¹³ Emden, *B.R.U.C.* p.633, *Le Neve* pp. 46, 61 and above Chapter 5.

²¹⁴ Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.1966. Walle, who had already been at Lichfield since 1442, appears to have been something of a scholar as he is noted as owning numerous books which are now at Lichfield, the College of Arms and in various college libraries. Emden, *B.R.U.O.* p. 1966.

²¹⁵ Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.1572.

²¹⁶ Strangeways was present on 8 April 1488 and Commissary of the Bishop on 13 November 1503. He was admitted to residence on 25 March 1488. See below for a discussion of the canons at the Lollard trials. Emden: *B.R.U.O.* p.1796 –7.

²¹⁷ Emden: *B.R.U.O.* pp.1685, 1683.

therefore not resident in any of their benefices.²¹⁸ The canons' pluralism did not adversely affect the stability and effectiveness of the Chapter in any way, nor did it limit the Dean's control of aspects of the lives of the citizens of Lichfield. The effects of the residentiaries' non-residence elsewhere are not recorded.

The geographical and social backgrounds of the residentiaries were similar to those of the group as a whole, as discussed, except that none came from a prominent family, though some were of gentry stock. The majority appear to have had roots in the diocese.

The Chapter generally met once a week, usually with the Dean presiding and the Chapter clerk, who was Thomas Godsalue in 1480 and through the 1490s, in attendance. In the Act Book the date was always noted, as were saints' days and festivals and the location, the Chapter House. Events were not recorded, other than the deaths of Bishop Hals and several canons, so there is no information about links between the Close and the outside world.²¹⁹ Nor is there any information about debates. Many entries concerned legal business and the presentations of accounts of all types concerning the Chapter and the running of the cathedral were also recorded, though with little detail.²²⁰ One of the Chapter's tasks, the managing of its property, has already been discussed, as have the residentiaries' roles beyond the Chapter in the diocesan administration. Another role, discussed in the next chapter, was the

²¹⁸ See the previous chapter for a discussion and for details of the careers of these men. Incompatibility occurred when cure of souls was involved, for example in the case of rectories; clerics were not permitted to hold more than one benefice with cure of souls. Cathedral prebends, however, did not have cure of souls so could be, and were, held in plurality.

²¹⁹ The death of Bishop Hals was recorded on 3 October 1490. *C. A. III* fo.2r.

²²⁰ For example, in 1485 Thomas Milley, as a commissary, presented his account and on Fridays in the spring of 1485 accounts were presented by Milley, Strangeways and the Custos of the fabric and Whelpdale was elected as Communar. *C. A. II* f. 4r., *C. A. II* fo.13r.

involvement of some residentiaries with other clerics in the Lollard trials of 1486, 1488 and 1490. Much of the business conducted concerned the installation of canons and vicars choral in their prebends for which there are numerous entries in the Chapter Act books.²²¹ There was considerable exchanging of prebends among the canons, but it is not always clear that financial advantages were gained. An extremely convoluted example of this occurred in 1488. Walle's death was recorded on St. Andrew's Day, 30th November 1488, and his will proved on 5 December.²²² Milley was collated on 1 December to replace him as Archdeacon of Coventry and on 3 December to the poorest prebend, Dasset Parva, vacated by Egerton, who was collated to Weeford on 9 December. Presumably Milley's Archdeacon's income was generous and the prebend allowed him to remain a residentiary in Chapter.²²³ Weeford was vacated by Reynold who was collated on 4 December to Wellington, vacated by Milley, but worth less. On 18 December Lehe moved to Whittington, vacated by Harwardyn who was collated to Walle's prebend of Eccleshall.²²⁴ The thirty-two Lichfield prebends had a combined value of under £400, far less than at most other cathedrals.²²⁵ This explains why ambitious clerics only held them as non-residents in addition to many other benefices, simply to provide additional income. Only three were worth more than £40; the most valuable, Sawley, was attached to the Treasurership and Brewood to the Deanery; the Archdeaconry of Chester, desirable because of its considerable independence, held the Bolton prebend and was occupied by distinguished men like Morton and, later, Cuthbert Tunstall. Bishops Itchington and Alrewas, each worth £26 13s. 4d. were held by the Precentor and Chancellor.

²²¹ For example, fo.2r of *C. A. II* begins with the admission of Christopher Talbot on 11 April 1481 and there are four other admissions on canons and vicars on the page among other business.

²²² *C. A. II* fo. 25r.

²²³ *C. A. II* fo. 25r. Dasset Parva was valued at 3s. 4d. in 1535. See Appendix 1 for values of prebends..

²²⁴ *C. A. II* fo. 26r. This was a good move for Harwardyn as Whittington was worth only £3 6s. 8d. while Eccleshall was valued at £20 in 1535.

²²⁵ *V.C.H. III* p.144 and see Appendix 1.

Heywood's progression through the prebends illustrates his improving financial position.²²⁶

The Chapter was also concerned with disciplining the Cathedral's *ministri inferiores*, their behaviour, their appearance, and their morals. The gates of the Close were guarded and closed at night not only for safety and to keep out undesirables, but also to ensure the vicars and chantry chaplains were inside overnight. Those returning late were reported by the janitor to the Dean and Chapter and fined. This was resented and in 1495 a table of fines was drawn up for assaults on the janitor.²²⁷ Even the vicars' hairstyles were controlled: in 1483 they were ordered to reform their tonsures so that their ears were showing.²²⁸ Though relations with Heywood were good, the vicars seem to have been a continuing problem, accused of hunting, gambling, fornication and absenteeism.²²⁹ His Visitation Book for 1461 and 1466 recorded similar offences. Matters worsened after Heywood's death and they tried to gain more independence.²³⁰ Apart from the Bishop's privilege of allotting canonical houses, the Chapter regulated the Close, dealing with among other things the water supply, the storing of wood, the removal of rubbish and the control of the graveyard.²³¹ The appointment of officials, from attorneys to the keeper of the clock, and nominations to

²²⁶ Le Neve pp.5-14, 29-31, *V.C.H Staffs.III* p.144. James Stanley, Edmund Chaderton and John Voysey were also Archdeacons of Chester. Dasset Parva, was never held for long periods and apart from Egerton and Milley, mentioned above, the only notable incumbent was Heywood who held it briefly in 1434 as his second Lichfield prebend after holding Gaia Minor 1433-1434, worth £2. He then held Ryton, £6 3s. 4d., and Hansacre, £14, before becoming Dean. Le Neve pp. 6, 30, 43, 44, 52.

²²⁷ Kettle, p.159.

²²⁸ *C. A. II* fo. 11r.

²²⁹ *V.C.H. III* pp.163.

²³⁰ *V.C.H. III* pp.164. In 1513 the Vicars briefly went on strike. Wolsey himself had to settle a dispute in 1527 and in 1528 they tried in vain to acquire a royal licence of incorporation to achieve more independence, as had happened at other cathedrals.

²³¹ *V.C.H. III* pp.160-161. In the late fifteenth century the Chapter accused Sir Humphrey Stanley of breaking the conduit, thus depriving the Close of water. The case was eventually taken to the king's council.

vacant chantries and benefices were also in its gift.²³² The Chapter was further able to increase its power in 1461, under Heywood, by confirming the privileges granted in 1441 that prevented any royal official entering the Close and gave the Dean and Chapter the return and execution of all writs and the right to act as justices of the peace there.²³³

The late medieval economy was not buoyant. The Lichfield Chapter was not immune to the disastrous effects of famine and plague in the fourteenth century which continued into the fifteenth. Revenues probably declined, affecting the residentiaries.²³⁴ The prebendal incomes of the non-residents did not increase, thus reducing the desirability of a Lichfield appointment. In the 1490s communars were again borrowing heavily from the *baga de Whalley* to pay expenses.²³⁵ In the early sixteenth century the Chapter took drastic measures to improve its income.²³⁶ The vicars too, despite being the largest landlords in the city, found their revenues greatly reduced.²³⁷

The smallness of the common fund, which was only shared by the residentiaries, was probably a major cause of the shrinking of the Chapter to five residents in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.²³⁸ Its income was derived from several sources,

²³² In 1487 Thomas Rigley was appointed sergeant, or verger, at the request of the Duke of Buckingham, *C. A. II* fo.18v, *V.C.H. III*, p. 160.

²³³ *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p. 161.

²³⁴ Swanson, 'Economic Survival in Late medieval Derbyshire: the Spirituality Income of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, c. 1400 to c. 1535', in R. Goddard, J. Langdon and M. Müller (eds.) *Survival and Discord in Medieval Society: essays in honour of Christopher Dyer* (Turnhout 2010) p.100.

²³⁵ *C. A. III* 9v, *V.C.H. Staffs. III* pp. 153,160.

²³⁶ Cooper, 'Oligarchy and Conflict', pp. 44-45.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.

²³⁸ By the late Middle Ages the common fund, previously shared by all the canons, was at Lichfield and almost all other secular cathedrals, only divided between the residentiaries. For details see Appendix 1 and *V.C. H. Staffs. III* p.162. At Lichfield daily commons were paid in money from the start, as at Lincoln and York. Edwards, pp. 39, 41.

“initially churches, tithes, land and other property”.²³⁹ The Chapter’s spirituality income arose from spiritual jurisdiction, tithes, mortuaries, other offerings, the income from glebe land and court and administrative fees. The prebendal endowments were virtually completed in the thirteenth century when the Chapter acquired a number of pensions.²⁴⁰ It was also given several churches and the “Peak Parishes”, Bakewell, Hope and Tideswell, which became the Chapter’s most valuable asset, worth, with their thirteen chapels, over £200 a year in 1535, nearly half the total revenue.²⁴¹ The Chapter gained few more sources of income. The common fund acquired only two more churches in the fourteenth century and some twenty pensions; eight acquired later had a total value little over £2.²⁴² Heywood’s gift, in the later fifteenth century, of land at King’s Bromley and Alrewas to the Chapter was its only temporality and worth 51s 5¾ d.²⁴³ Usually a farmer was appointed for the churches of the common fund who might be one of the canons. The farmer collected the Chapter’s share of the tithes, holding the rectory lands in return for an annual rent and the duty of keeping the church and rectory buildings in good repair. The communar had to render an annual account for these monies and there is evidence of this in the late fifteenth century Chapter Acts. In 1481 John Whelpdale as communar presented his final account to the Dean, Walle, and Milley, with Godsalve, the Chapter Clerk, also present, on the Friday before the Feast of St. Michael.²⁴⁴ Also on the Friday before St. Michael’s Day in 1488 Richard Sherborne, “Canon Residentiary and Communar and Receptor of all the goods made his final account according to ordinances and statutes of the said Cathedral” in person to the Dean and Chapter, Heywood, Walle,

²³⁹ *V.C.H.Staffs. III* p.143

²⁴⁰ *V.C.H.Staffs. III* p.146-7.

²⁴¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus III* pp. 133, 134.

²⁴² *V.C.H. Staffs. III* pp. 161.

²⁴³ *V.C.H.Staffs. III* pp. 161-162. The churches of the common fund were spiritualities.

²⁴⁴ *C. A. II* f.6v.

Whelpdale, Milley, Reynold, with Godsalve, the Chapter Clerk, present.²⁴⁵ The communar's duties additionally included paying salaries and officials' expenses, distributing commons to the canons and vicars, noting absences and collecting revenue arrears. Very little is known of how the Chapter managed its property at that time since few leases have survived, but farmers probably found their leases less profitable as economic conditions became more difficult.²⁴⁶ Grants of leases are sometimes recorded in the Chapter Act books after 1480, but with little detail. For example, notice of a five year lease of the tithe lambs in the Peak Parishes in 1481 omits the annual farm, possibly because the information appears elsewhere;²⁴⁷ the lessee failed to pay due instalments of £10 and forfeited the lease.²⁴⁸ Since the distance was too great for direct control of the Peak Parishes, the Dean and Chapter by about 1400 had developed a system for a single accountant, the proctor, apparently under the communar, to administer most revenues. He delivered his accounts directly to the Chapter early in Lent.²⁴⁹ Thus the mineral and lead tithes were leased as before but the Chapter continued to collect the wool tithes and dispose of the wool directly.²⁵⁰ Then in 1481 the Chapter leased the wool tithes for five years to its sub-proctor in the Peak, but by the end of the 1480s the communar was again administering the tithes, collecting 3,365 fleeces in one year, when Richard Sherborne, a residentiary, was communar for the second time in 1487–8.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ *C. A. II* f.20v.

²⁴⁶ Swanson, 'Economic Survival in Late Medieval Derbyshire: the spirituality income of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield c. 1400 to c.1535', p.101.

²⁴⁷ *C. A. II* ff.2r, 5v.

²⁴⁸ R.N.Swanson, 'Economic Survival in late Medieval Derbyshire' pp. 92-93.

²⁴⁹ R.N.Swanson, *ibid.* p.93

²⁵⁰ R.N.Swanson, *ibid.* p.93, *V.C.H. Staffs. III*, p.162.

²⁵¹ *C. A. II*, f. 20v, *V.C.H. III*, p. 162.

The poverty of the thirty-two prebends has already been noted; twenty-four consisted of appropriated parishes from which the prebendary received tithes and other income and where he often had peculiar jurisdiction; the others consisted solely of property, partly land and partly tithes, some of them endowed from land and tithes in Lichfield which carried responsibilities in city churches. The values of dignities and prebends can only be compared using the figures from 1291 and 1535. Some increased markedly while others decreased and the variations are too great to allow any conclusions to be drawn.²⁵²

The key to the Chapter's success in increasing its power and running the administration effectively is to be found in the career of Heywood.²⁵³ His long tenure of the Deanery from 1457 to 1492 was supported by the similarly long periods in office of Walle, a canon from 1440 and Archdeacon of Coventry from 1442 until his death in 1488, Milley, a canon from 1457 and Walle's successor as Archdeacon until his own death in 1505, and Sherborne who resided from before 1473 until he died, as Archdeacon of Salop, in 1500. Interestingly, all Deans in the fifteenth century and up to 1533 died in office.²⁵⁴ Possibly they lacked ambition or perhaps it was a satisfying role, since the Dean had considerable power and could involve himself in a range of activities, controlling the Close, managing property, dealing with legal issues and overseeing the cathedral's liturgy and the spiritual life. With a library at his disposal and other scholars in the Chapter, there were opportunities for further study.

²⁵² *V.C.H.III*, p.144,162. Appendix 1.

²⁵³ Savage claims that in an unspecified document Heywood was referred to as in his 65th year in 1474, so he would have been born in 1409 or 1410. His appointment as Prebendary of Gaia Minor at Lichfield in 1433 would have at the early age of 23 or 24 and he would have lived to 82 or 83. Savage, p. 5.

²⁵⁴ The last fourteenth century Dean to become a bishop was John de Buckingham who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1363. All his successors up to Heywood's election in 1457, except one who resigned, died in office. Dean Yotton served from 1493 to his death in 1512, Ralph Colyngwood from 1512 till he died in 1521 and James Denton from 1522 till his death in 1533. Richard Sampson was Dean only from 1533 until he became Bishop of Chichester in 1536. See footnote 35 for the canons.

Unfortunately it is impossible to know these Deans' characters, since formal documents only record official business, but it is possible to make conjectures about Heywood as far more information exists about him, his achievements in the Cathedral and the Close and his relations with the city.

Fortunately evidence exists showing the remarkable extent of Heywood's benefactions to the Cathedral and its clergy. He ensured formal copies were made of his investments, instruments of foundation, papal confirmation of indulgences concerning his chantries and obligations agreed, suggesting a careful administrator who also wished his generosity recorded.²⁵⁵ Savage assumes that Heywood's parents died before 14 August 1456, the date of the first document, an undertaking by the Subchanter, the leader of the vicars, to celebrate the obit for Heywood's parents annually on the Octave of Epiphany for which the vicars were to receive an honorarium. The same document recorded the vicars' gratitude for Heywood's generosity, especially for the "great sum of gold" for rebuilding their houses. Savage assumes that Heywood had inherited a substantial sum from his father as from this date he made gifts whose "cost was greatly in excess of any possible resources of a Canonry or the Deanery".²⁵⁶ Heywood's generosity to the vicars continued. He gave them land and money to increase their income and in 1474 rebuilt and considerably extended their residence. He also gave them money "to defend their rights".²⁵⁷ He was admitted to their confraternity, was a participator in their prayers and his name was entered in the Martiloge. Savage considers this a unique occurrence between parts of the same religious establishment. In response, Heywood gave each of the

²⁵⁵ Savage pp. 5-7.

²⁵⁶ Savage pp. 6-7. There was to be Second Vespers and a Requiem Mass on the morrow. The vicars' honorarium was 2d. for attendance at Vespers and 2d. for Mass.

²⁵⁷ Savage pp. 18-19, *V.C.H. III*, pp.164-165. Heywood built a two storey block with its own gate, including a chapel, muniment room and infirmary.

twenty-one vicars half a mark.²⁵⁸ His gifts doubtless cemented this good relationship, but more seems to have been done on both sides than was necessary merely to keep the peace, which was broken after Heywood's death, as noted above. He also improved the cantarists' "New College" in 1468 by glazing their windows and providing a bakehouse and a brewhouse among other amenities.²⁵⁹

Heywood's many generous donations to the Cathedral spanned the years 1466 to 1490. He founded a chantry at the altar of St. Blaise, probably in the choir, in 1466 and in 1468 a chantry of Jesus and St. Anne.²⁶⁰ This chantry had its own chapel, in a loft across the north choir aisle, for which Heywood provided an organ, choir stalls and statues. He also paid for the admission of the chaplains of both chantries to the cantarists' college. To fund these chantries and the chaplains' salaries he invested money to produce fixed annual returns with Halesowen, Lilleshull and Dale Abbeys, where his and his parents' obits would be celebrated.²⁶¹ In 1473 Heywood instituted a "cursal" or daily Mass which lay people could attend on Fridays; on 19 April Bishop Hals, in the presence of the Dean and Chapter and the vicars, confirmed the ordinance which all three parties sealed. Previously Hals, "ignoring precedent", had joined the Dean and Chapter in confirming some of Heywood's projects, but this was the first time the vicars had been involved: another instance of harmonious stability.²⁶² There is no reason to think Heywood's dedication of the chantry to Jesus and St. Anne, the

²⁵⁸ Savage p. 18. Savage considers the event as proof of his belief in the harmoniousness of relations in the Close under Heywood.

²⁵⁹ Savage p.9, *V.C.H. III*, p. 165.

²⁶⁰ Savage considered the dedication to St. Blaise, a popular saint in Lancashire and patron of the woolcombers, suggests that Heywood's father was a rich Lancastrian woolcomber, but this is mere speculation and there is no supporting evidence. See Savage, pp. 10-11. Footnote 86 above.

²⁶¹ Heywood invested 400, 400 and 100 marks respectively; the abbeys agreed to pay fixed annual returns of nine, ten and four marks. Heywood also gave lavish presents to the abbeys, which he visited in person. When Lilleshull defaulted in 1482 the Dean and Chapter successfully sued the Abbey in the Court of King's Bench. Heywood then put aside twenty marks for legal costs should the other abbeys default. Savage pp. 8-14.

²⁶² Savage pp. 14-15.

Virgin Mary's mother, was intended to exclude Mary herself. The cathedral was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Chad and a Lady Chapel and a chantry dedicated to the Virgin already existed. There is, however, no record of an altar dedicated to St. Anne.²⁶³ The cult of the Name of Jesus, to which the Friday Mass was dedicated, was very popular at that time, supported particularly by Lady Margaret Beaufort.²⁶⁴ Indulgences were granted to those attending the Friday Mass by Archbishop Bourghier and the bishops of the province of Canterbury and later by the Pope and a number of cardinals.²⁶⁵ An officer was appointed in 1483 to account for the consequent offerings from pilgrims which produced a steady income.²⁶⁶ The final development was that on 28 March 1487 the Dean and Chapter constituted a Guild of Jesus and St. Anne for men and women of any station, with Heywood as Warden *ex officio*; he admitted the residentiaries, Walle, Whelpdale, Milley, Sherborne and Reynold, and Godsalve, the Chapter Clerk; Walle, as the senior canon, then admitted the Dean.²⁶⁷ Heywood had thus created a new link with the city.

Heywood improved the fabric and decoration of the Cathedral at his own expense. In 1477 he gave the "Jesus Bell" to hang in the bell-tower on the south side. Preceding a mass in the chantry chapel it was consecrated "in honour of the Name of Jesus", another indication of Heywood's personal devotion to the cult. He gave two silver-gilt monstrances and a pyx to the St. Chad's Head Chapel in 1481 and a "great organ", costing £26 13s. 4d., to be placed on the choir screen. He paid for the walls

²⁶³ The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was a teaching favoured by the Franciscans at the time. Savage, p.12, *V.C.H. III*, p.165, *V.C.H. XIV*, pp. 47-57.

²⁶⁴ Lady Margaret Beaufort was recognized by the pope as a patron of the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus in 1494. Jones and Underwood, pp. 168, 174.

²⁶⁵ Indulgences were granted by Bourghier on 26 November 1473 and from Pope Sixtus IV in February and March 1482, for attendance on a number of specified feast days. The Pope had already confirmed the founding of the chantries in 1479. Savage pp. 16-17, *V.C.H. III*, p. 165.

²⁶⁶ 11 April 1483 recorded in *C.A.II* f.8v-9r, *V.C.H. III*, p. 165.

²⁶⁷ *C.A.II* f.15v.

and ceiling of the Chapter House to be covered with frescoes, for glazing the windows with pictures of the apostles and glazing the vestibule windows.²⁶⁸ Finally in 1490 he gave £40 toward the construction of the new library in brick and timber on the north side of the Cathedral.²⁶⁹ He oversaw other works which beautified the building, including the erection of a stone screen at the entrance to the Lady Chapel, new Perpendicular windows and the strengthening of the tower.²⁷⁰ Certainly over thirty-five years he had added much to the beauty and spiritual life of the Cathedral. Heywood was also generous to the city chapels, giving an east window and a rood screen to St. Mary's and donations to the fabric funds of St. Michael's and St. Chad's. He also donated land to the almshouse later refounded by Milley.²⁷¹

Heywood's relations with the city are poorly documented. As Dean he had the right of visitation and the supervision of morals was part of his "ordinary cure", but records have only survived for October 1461, January 1466 and November 1466, showing presentment of offenders and subsequent proceedings in his court. These sources, which also give an insight into urban daily life, show his paternalistic concern for the inhabitants. Respectable citizens, usually members of the Guild, "discovered" offenders to the Dean. The accusations show that the misdemeanours which most incensed public opinion were sexual, though there were others, including failing to attend church or disturbing neighbours. Mostly those accused were from the lower orders, though some were members of the Guild. Clearly adultery, fornication, illegitimacy, pregnancy out of wedlock, brothel-keeping and incest were regarded as both immoral and a threat to the good order of society. Sadly for Heywood, some

²⁶⁸ Savage, pp.19-21, *V.C.H. III*, p.165.

²⁶⁹ *C.A.III* f.1r records the gift of £40 immediately after stating that Whelpdale had died. Savage p. 20. The library was completed by Dean Yotton.

²⁷⁰ Savage, pp.20-21, *V.C.H.III*, p.165.

²⁷¹ Savage, p. 21.

clerics were also accused of such offences and others, less serious. For example, William Sumner, a chaplain of St. Mary's, was accused of fathering Margaret Glover's two children, of neglecting his duty to ring fire and service bells so he could play dice and additionally behaving improperly by wearing piked shoes, flowing hair and a cheerful face.²⁷² Perhaps, at least over his tonsure, Sumner was an exception since Heywood's order about tonsures was not issued until 1483.²⁷³ There is little evidence of how any cases were resolved, but there is information about marriage cases, for which the Church was the only authority. Heywood appears to have been concerned to regularize and uphold marriage. He insisted on having documentary proof of marriages; witnesses were not enough. He dealt with bigamy and estrangement and ordered husbands to treat their wives well. He ordered those living as husband and wife to marry and threatened one Thomas Hull, who had made three of his mother's servants pregnant, that he would have to marry within a month.²⁷⁴

The most important lay organization in Lichfield in the late fifteenth century was the Guild, mentioned above. From the middle of the century membership grew and changed. Average annual admissions rose from thirty-one before 1450 to 160 from 1480 to 1500. Nearly 7% over the whole century can be identified as clergy; of these one in ten was a canon or vicar from the Close, others were city clerics. Clerical admissions rose in proportion to the total. This brought those from the Close into contact with leading citizens and local gentry and nobility, who were encouraged to join as potentially useful patrons. The clerical membership also changed as heads of religious houses and diocesan clergy became members, where previously all had been local. As a result all the members must have had their horizons widened while the

²⁷² Kettle, pp.164-167, based on Heywood's Visitation Book.

²⁷³ *C. A. II* fo. 11r and see above.

²⁷⁴ Kettle, pp.166-167.

Close increased its links with the city.²⁷⁵ Heywood was admitted to the Guild in 1459 as “Master Thomas Fisher, *al. dict.* Heywood, doctor of laws”.²⁷⁶ Another example of the Dean’s linking of Close and Guild is shown in his reform of “Our Lady’s alms chest” in 1486. He recovered most of the money that had been lent but not repaid, made up the difference himself and then reformed the administration, making the Master of the Guild and the Sacrist of the Cathedral keybearers *ex officio*; they were to swear before the Dean, the Warden and six worshipful men of the Guild to observe the regulations.²⁷⁷ Again Heywood was acting to improve conditions for those for whom he was responsible, while keeping control. He was working with the Guild, but its ordinances of the same year show it taking responsibility for order in the city, paying only lip-service to the Dean’s authority; by contrast the 1387 ordinances had merely regulated Guild members. The city no longer wished to be economically dependent on the Cathedral and under the Dean’s authority, as the Guild, comprising leading citizens and influential patrons, took more control.²⁷⁸ Heywood strove to maintain the separation of the Close from the city while maintaining his rights to interfere there, a situation which could not survive long after his and Hals’s deaths, when in the very different religious climate of the sixteenth century bishops were more political, deans absent and the laity more confident. When Heywood died he was, naturally, buried in his Cathedral in a two tier tomb with his effigy in life above a cadaver. His will was proved by his long term colleagues, canons Milley and

²⁷⁵ Kettle, p.161.

²⁷⁶ Both names are common in the register and a William Fisher was Master from 1459 to 1464. In the Chapter Act books from 1480 Hey wood is always referred to as “Heywood”, never Fisher. Kettle, p.162, *B.R.U.O.* pp.897-898, Savage pp. 10-11. See footnote 87.

²⁷⁷ At future visitations the Dean would inspect their performance, to ensure the money benefited the poor. The Master and the Sacrist were also to pray for Heywood and the canons who founded the chest. Kettle, p.164.

²⁷⁸ Kettle, p.169.

Reynold, and the Sacrist, John Paxson, the leader of the vicars, continuing his links with them to the end.²⁷⁹

Dean Heywood was the most important of the residentiaries and the only one for whose life there is much evidence. He appears conventional in his acceptance of the late medieval Church's doctrine and practice. His arrangements for his parents' souls seem too extensive to be merely a public demonstration of filial piety; rather they show affection and concern to speed them through purgatory. His founding of the chantries in the Cathedral and his acquisition of indulgences for their congregations also demonstrated his belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead, while his support for the cult of the Name of Jesus, and his tomb, belong firmly to the fifteenth century. The popularity of his chantries shows the laity's acceptance of orthodoxy and a lack of demand for change. He was generous on a grand scale to the cathedral and to its clergy and his good relations with them must have assisted in the efficient administration of the Close and the city. The Close may not have been quite the place of brotherly love Savage envisaged, but Heywood certainly achieved much. He benefited from the fact that the systems he had to operate were already in place and effective and that there were no outstanding issues between bishops and chapters; he and Hals appear to have been compatible. Hals was surely relieved to have an effective and experienced group of administrators in whose hands he could safely leave the diocese.²⁸⁰ These residentiaries were careful managers who improved Cathedral and Close and husbanded their resources. The result was a period of great

²⁷⁹ The only part of the tomb to survive the Commonwealth was the cadaver. Savage, pp. 21-22.

²⁸⁰ Emden *B.R.U.O.* p. 856. Hals was renowned as a scholar, and supporter of scholars, and as a pastor, while also being in royal service. He had no previous connections with Lichfield diocese or episcopal experience, though he had been Dean of Exeter and a Canon of St. Paul's. Hals was chaplain to two Queens, Katherine de Valois and Margaret of Anjou, and had been presented to the see of Exeter by Pope Calixtus III at the special request of Henry VI in 1455, but was forced to decline the appointment the following year for political reasons as Henry's power waned.

stability. Their power increased, but so did that of the Guild, which with Heywood's newer Guild brought the two communities, clerical and lay, closer together.

Chapter 6

Lollards in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield

The Lollard movement began in the later fourteenth century with the teaching of the Oxford scholar, John Wyclif. It was considered heretical by the orthodox leaders of the Church at the time and arguably was influential in the subsequent development of the movement for religious reform in England in the sixteenth century. Its chief tenets were the necessity of the scriptures being available to all in the vernacular, the denial of transubstantiation and the belief that priests were not required for the transference of God's grace.²⁸¹ Documents from Lollard trials, however, show considerable variations in belief.

Tracing the progress of Lollardy, which continued sporadically into the sixteenth century, is difficult: the Lollards themselves were most anxious to avoid the attention of the authorities, since conviction for heresy by the church courts could lead to execution by burning by the civil power after the 1401 Act, and there are few ecclesiastical records. Lichfield Diocese did not escape Lollard activity and the detailed records of trials which occurred there between 1486 and 1522 are useful in illustrating another aspect of the work of the Bishop and some of the canons in the prosecution of heresy. These accounts present a good picture of the Lollard community and its beliefs. It is impossible, though, to know whether these records cover all the heresy trials of the period in the diocese or whether they are only a fraction of the total.

²⁸¹Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, pp.329-333, Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England*, pp.355-367, Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy Women and Men in Lollard Communities 1420-1530* (Pennsylvania 1995), pp.7-8.

The evidence for the heresy trials in Coventry and Lichfield Diocese between 1486 and 1522 exists in the Bishops' records, the Lichfield Court Book, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and the Coventry records. It includes the accusations, the defendants' identities, details of trials, abjurations and punishments, names of Lollard books discovered, and information about Lollard beliefs. Also recorded are the names of clerics who sat with the bishop in judgement on those accused of heresy, among whom some Lichfield canons can be identified. Thus the history of the Lollards in Coventry and Lichfield Diocese in the late fifteenth century not only illustrates another role for the canons but also, by revealing the beliefs of the Lollards, shows some of the criticisms that were being levelled at the Church.

There is no evidence of any Lollard activity in Lichfield in Dean Heywood's Visitation Book for the 1460s or elsewhere later. This is perhaps unsurprising as the Dean maintained "such close, even intrusive, supervision" of the city that it would have been very hard for such a movement to grow.²⁸² Additionally the Bishop retained his manorial jurisdiction there until the Reformation. In contrast to Lichfield, Coventry was a more powerful city with a strong council; it was rarely visited by the Bishop and the Prior had little influence, unlike the heads of the great monasteries like St. Alban's.²⁸³ The first reference to Lollardy is not until March 1486 when Bishop Hals prosecuted eight Coventry men for heresy. All were found guilty but none was executed; their punishment was to abjure publicly in Coventry. They processed in penitential garb, each one only in his undergarments, *nudus pedes et caput, solis liniis vestibus indutus*, barefoot and bareheaded and bearing a faggot, from St. Michael's

²⁸² Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke 2002) p.99.

²⁸³ Rex, pp. 99-100.

Church, where each publicly acknowledged he had voluntarily abjured his heretical beliefs, to the Shrine of Our Lady in the Carmelite Friary, where the faggots and candles were offered.²⁸⁴ The rituals were repeated on the following Sunday and the abjurations explained to the people in the parish church. Similar rituals were imposed on the two Lollards tried in 1488 and 1490, Margery Goyte and Robert Clerke.²⁸⁵ There were no further trials until one man, John Sheperde, was examined in 1503 and then no more until the large numbers in 1511–1512. The first execution was that of Joan Warde *alias* Wasshington, who was condemned as a relapsed heretic and burned on 15 March 1512 in Coventry.²⁸⁶

Bishop Hals presided over all the Lollard trials recorded during his episcopacy, in 1486, 1488 and 1490. The information about the trials and abjurations is contained in his Register, which is mainly an official record of abjurations, written in a neater and more formal hand than the later sources containing details about Lollards and Lollard trials in 1511–12. Witness depositions are not included. All the clergy recorded as present at the trials were university educated and most had degrees in canon law or theology. On 9 March 1486 in St. Michael's Church in Coventry there were fourteen clerics present including the Prior of Coventry and Bishop Hals. Of these only four, John Frysby D.Th., Edmund Hals B.Cn.L., Humphrey Hawardyn D.C.L. and John Sharpe B.Cn.L., were Lichfield canons. Also present was Hugh Lehe M.A., a canon of St. Chad's Shrewsbury, who became Prebendary of Whittington and Berkswick in 1488. Of this group only Lehe and Sharpe were present at the next trial on 8 April

²⁸⁴ *Reg. Hals, fos 167v-168r*. Shannon McSheffrey and Norman Tanner, *Lollards of Coventry 1486 – 1522, Camden Fifth Series Volume 23* (Cambridge 2003), p.82. All the documents are printed in this volume, with commentary.

²⁸⁵ McSheffrey and Tanner, p.7.

²⁸⁶ The city annals suggest that six other heretics were burned with her, but, since these are later compilations and Blyth's register only records Joan Warde's execution, McSheffrey and Tanner consider this an error. McSheffrey and Tanner, pp. 9, 56.

1488, held at the Bishop's manor of Beaudesert. The other Lichfield canon present that day was George Strangeways D.Th., later Archdeacon of Coventry and Bishop Blythe's commissary at the abjuration of John Sheperde in 1503. Richard Salter D.Cn.L., a canon of Salisbury, was also at the 1488 trial and became a Lichfield canon in 1489. So in 1488, of the four clergy named as present, apart from the Bishop, three were Lichfield canons and the fourth became one the following year. According to the record, the proceedings in 1490 against Robert Clerke *alias* Teylour were heard by the Bishop at his palace in Lichfield; no other clergy present are named but are referred to only as "other notable persons", *coram dicto reverendo patre et aliis notabilibus personis*.²⁸⁷ Other clerics present in 1486 came from the diocese, but were not connected to Lichfield Cathedral. Richard Coventry, Prior of the Benedictine cathedral priory of Coventry, was the only member of a religious order present in 1486; no regulars were present in 1488 or 1490, though six attended in 1511.²⁸⁸ Clearly only small numbers of Lichfield canons, presumably personally chosen by Bishop Hals for their particular knowledge of theology and canon law, attended these early heresy trials. Possibly Lehe and Salter were given Lichfield prebends as rewards.²⁸⁹ Since the 1488 and 1490 trials involved only one accused in each case, Hals perhaps felt public hearings with large numbers of clerics to assist him were unnecessary, so heard the cases at his residences. Apart from Strangeways and Edmund Hals, these canons were not part of the group regularly recorded in the Chapter Act Book as residentiaries attending meetings, noted above. The Act Book

²⁸⁷ McSheffrey and Tanner, p.95.

²⁸⁸ In 1511 Thomas Danyell and David Jacob, Observant Franciscan friars, and William Dykons and Henry Eliot, the Prior and Sub-prior of the Priory of Augustinian Canons at Maxstoke, and William Polesworthe and John Ympingham, the Prior and Sub-prior of Coventry, attended.

²⁸⁹ Whittington and Berkswick was Lehe's only Lichfield prebend, worth £3 6s. 8d. Le Neve p. 68. Salter received Hansacre, worth £14, and later became Chancellor and Precentor of Lichfield. Le Neve, pp, 8, 10, 44.

recorded that Hals and Strangeways came into residence on 25 March 1488.²⁹⁰ This suggests a differentiation between those regularly involved in the running of the cathedral and those chosen, presumably for their theological and legal expertise, for the specific task of dealing with suspected heresy. Much larger numbers of clergy are recorded as attending the Lollard trials in 1511 and 1512, which were on a far greater scale, partly as a result of the concerns expressed in the Convocation of 1511.

The Lichfield Canons attending the 1486 and 1488 Lollard trials, Frysby, Hals, Hawardyn, Lehe, Salter, Sharpe and Strangeways held a number of different prebends at Lichfield. Arguably they knew one another and the Bishop since the group he chose was very small. Edmund Hals, a canon of Lichfield from 1475 until his death in 1501, was Archdeacon of Salop in March 1486.²⁹¹ Presumably his preferment and his place at the trial, despite holding only a Bachelor's Degree in Canon Law, resulted from his kinship to Bishop Hals, who, at Oxford in the 1420s, was a generation older.²⁹² What is known of the background of the other Lichfield canons, discussed in Chapter 4, has no bearing on their presence at the trials.

Other reasons which possibly explain the canons' attendance at the trials may be found in their careers. Frysby, however, had no qualifications beyond his theology degree and long association with Coventry. Salter, as a Doctor of Theology and a fellow of All Souls, Oxford, seems more suitable. Clearly an academic, he was presumably a competent administrator as he was later Chancellor and Precentor of

²⁹⁰ *C.A.III* f 18v. Edmund Hals held five Lichfield prebends, of which the last, Eccleshall at £20 was one of the more valuable. He became Archdeacon of Salop and then of Derby. As noted above, he never capitalized on his connection to the bishop to advance his career beyond Lichfield. Emden *B.R.U.O.* p.856.

²⁹¹ McSheffrey and Tanner, pp.74, 346. Emden states Hals held that archdeaconry only during 1486. *B.R.U.O.* p. 856.

²⁹² Le Neve, pp. 17, 18, 26, 36, 48,64, 68.

Lichfield and Bishop Arundel's vicar-general.²⁹³ Harwardyn's considerable legal experience, probably greater than that of other clergy present at the hearings, would have commended him to the Bishop. After gaining his B.C.L., he practised in the Chancellor's Court at Oxford, studied canon law at Cambridge and gained his doctorate in civil law at Oxford. He had already served as Hals's vicar-general in 1485. That he had ability is shown by his later appointments at the Courts of Canterbury and Admiralty and in Convocation.²⁹⁴ There are no obvious reasons why Hals should have chosen Lehe and Sharpe to attend since both had unremarkable qualifications and careers.²⁹⁵ Perhaps there were personal connections for which there is no evidence. Strangeways, however, was an academic, with degrees in Arts and Divinity, a Fellow, and later Rector, from 1480 to 1488, of Lincoln College. He was described as *sacre theologie professore*.²⁹⁶ His experience appears to have been valued as he was present at the Lollard trial in 1503; in the account of John Sheperde's examination in Bishop Blyth's Register he is referred to as *eiusdem ecclesie canonico residente*, so he had remained a residentiary.²⁹⁷

The huge increase in the number of accusations and the severity of the punishments between 1486 and the 1520s demonstrates a change in the attitude of the Church and the bishops. There is a marked difference between the approach to the

²⁹³ Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 623,729.

²⁹⁴ Harwardyn became Commissary-general of the Prerogative, Auditor of Causes, Dean of Arches and Official Principal of the Court of Canterbury. He was also Prelocutor of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1489 and in the following year became a Commissioner in Appeal from the Court of Admiralty. Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 887-888.

²⁹⁵ Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp 1127-1128, 1680.

²⁹⁶ McSheffrey and Tanner, p. 88. This suggests Strangeways attended as a distinguished Oxford academic. He had been appointed to the prebend of Stotfold by 1485, so would have been known in some way by then by Bishop Hals.

²⁹⁷ *C.A. II* fo. 18v, *Register of Bishop Blythe* printed in McSheffrey and Tanner p.97. Strangeways became Archdeacon of Coventry, probably in 1505, a position he apparently held until his death in 1512. As noted, he came into residence on the Feast of the Annunciation and had royal patronage. He served four bishops of Coventry and Lichfield and may be considered an example of a successful canon. Strangeways and Hals were also both present also when Dean Heywood presented his gift of £40 for the library to the Chapter in 1490, *C.A.III* fo.1r.

Lollards shown by Bishop Hals in 1486, 1488 and 1490 and that of Bishop Blythe from 1511. Hals, the scholar and pastor, appears from the evidence of his register to have been far more interested in the Lollards' beliefs, which were recorded in detail, sometimes with quotations in the vernacular, than Blythe. In Blythe's register and court book the entries are very formulaic with little information about the accused's actual beliefs or the inquiries into them; he concentrated on attempting "to destroy the web of heresy in his diocese".²⁹⁸ Clearly the scale of these later trials was much greater, prompted by Convocation's attack on Lollardy across the country in 1511;²⁹⁹ in Coventry there were many more accused and greater numbers of clergy present, who, like those attending the earlier trials, mostly had legal or theological qualifications.

Hals's response suggests that he did not see the Lollards as a great danger to the Church, more a local pastoral issue to be settled by persuasion and penitence, since he faced no criticism of the Church as a whole; for Blyth, the extirpation of heresy from his diocese was part of a national policy to preserve the Church through the terror of the fire. The resurgence of Lollardy in Coventry cannot be shown to be a first step towards the Reformation, though clearly some of their concerns, for example that the scriptures should be available in the vernacular, later became the demands of the Protestants.

²⁹⁸ McSheffrey and Tanner, p.6.

²⁹⁹ Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy*, p.24.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

A number of conclusions may be drawn, tentatively because of the paucity of evidence, about the issues of pluralism and stability and the careers of the late fifteenth century Lichfield canons. The most obvious division is between the non-residents, both careerists boasting worldly success and others less distinguished, and the residentiaries who gave stability to the Chapter through their long and assiduous service.

For the non-residents without Lichfield connections, their prebends, less valuable than many at other cathedrals, were simply part of a portfolio of benefices providing a little additional income. Since many stipends were low, ambitious clerics, at Lichfield as elsewhere, acquired numerous benefices which led inevitably to pluralism and non-residence, criticized in 1511.³⁰⁰ These canons received papal dispensations permitting the holding of more than one incompatible benefice; many were royal servants financed by the Church, through stipends. Additionally, since cathedral canonries were without cure of souls, any number could be, and were, held simultaneously. The Church was a path to success for those not nobly born who had ability and benefited from a university education. Some canons had no impact on Lichfield, existing as little more than names in the records. Remaining as canons, often of more than one cathedral, and holding other benefices, they had, though, moved one rung up the clerical ladder to enjoy a higher standard of living than parish

³⁰⁰ See above Chapter 1.

priests.³⁰¹ Others who briefly held Lichfield prebends became bishops or royal officials, like John Morton, William Smythe, Lawrence, William and Charles Booth, Hugh Oldham and Giovanni Gigli, the only foreign canon in this period. This list illustrates another important factor in success in this diocese as elsewhere. All, except Gigli, who had important connections in Rome, had significant links to Lancashire, in Lichfield Diocese, and thus to the dominant family of the area, the Stanleys.³⁰² This may have assisted them initially in gaining prebends; much more importantly, Lord Stanley's marriage to Lady Margaret Beaufort and the accession of her son as king gained them patronage and influence at the highest level. They moved smoothly into royal service in 1485 as did other servants of Lady Margaret, like Reginald Bray. They were loyal to their origins: Oldham endowed Manchester Grammar School and Smythe founded Brasenose College for men born in the diocese, with preference for natives of Lancashire, especially those from his birthplace, Prescot.³⁰³ The web of Lancastrian, Lancashire, Stanley, Beaufort and Booth interests, of which Lichfield was a thread, was hugely important in government under Henry VII, so canons with this connection became very successful, as did canons elsewhere who had similar advantages, as for example those with Courteney affiliations in Exeter.

The second group, the residentiaries, were moderately successful in worldly terms, achieving authority as dignitaries or officials at Lichfield, but were not involved beyond the diocese. These were notably Walle, Milley, Whelpdale, Reynold, Strangeways, Sherborne, Hals, Edyall and Egerton, but most importantly Dean

³⁰¹ For a discussion of parochial incomes see R. N. Swanson, 'Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation England' pp.157-158, 182-183 in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* edited Christopher-Bill (Woodbridge 1991). See also footnote 144 above.

³⁰² Morton was born in Dorset, but became a Lancastrian and close associate of Lady Margaret Beaufort. Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d.1500)'.

³⁰³ *B.R.U.O.* p.1721, Margaret Bowker, 'Smith, William (d.1514)'.

Heywood. Doubtless other deans at Lichfield and elsewhere achieved much, but Heywood's contributions to Close, Cathedral and city were outstanding. He was generous, conventionally pious and careful in the performance of ritual. From the surviving records it appears he was a good administrator, but it is impossible to say whether in that difficult economic period he could have improved the Chapter's finances and avoided the problems faced by his successors. He was concerned for the welfare as well the discipline of those in his charge. He improved the Cathedral and the buildings in the Close. He interacted with the city through membership of the Guild and through his own new Guild and from his Visitation Books it appears he dealt with the transgressions presented to him humanely. Some of these residentiaries who met regularly in Chapter were diocesan officials, like Milley. One at least was a member of the Bishop's household, the third important establishment within the diocese. There may have been others, apart from Walle, who were members of all three. This was a powerful, close-knit group.

Pluralism was a feature of the careers of these clerics. Virtually all had dispensations for holding more than one incompatible benefice and many of them held a breathtaking number of cathedral and collegiate church canonries, in addition to parish rectories, exhibiting the behaviour that so provoked critics. The residentiaries were generally not such great pluralists since they were not amassing a portfolio of benefices to provide an income to support them in royal service as the careerists were. Nonetheless, like almost all the others, Heywood, was a pluralist, the recipient of at least three papal dispensations for holding incompatible benefices.³⁰⁴ The Lichfield residentiaries were, however, according to the records, actually resident

³⁰⁴ Emden *B.R.U.O.* pp. 897-898. Footnote 160.

there and thus non-resident elsewhere; their pluralism did not affect their work as the Chapter; their presence contributed to the stability of these years.

The majority of the seventy Lichfield canons recorded as appointed or in post in the last quarter of the fifteenth century attended university. Only ten are not credited with a degree by either Emden's Biographical Registers or Le Neve. Since almost all bishops and most canons had a university education by this time, it is likely that in some instances records have been lost. Certainly in the case of Thomas Milley tradition suggests he attended university.³⁰⁵ In line with relative numbers known to be at Oxford and Cambridge in the late middle ages, more of the Lichfield canons attended Oxford, as did Bishops Hals, Smythe and Arundel, in a ratio of approximately ten to three.³⁰⁶ Three canons attended Oxford and Cambridge. Only eight attended universities abroad, all Italian, Bologna, Ferrara or Padua.³⁰⁷ No residentiaries attended both Oxford and Cambridge or a foreign university; perhaps they were not academically very ambitious. Most had degrees in Canon or Civil Law; twelve had degrees in both, including Heywood and Reynold. Law was the most popular degree because of the huge amount of administrative and legal business that the Church conducted. The three with medical degrees were non-resident. The other residentiaries had studied Canon Law, apart from Strangeways, who attended the Lollard trials and was the only theologian.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ See the discussions above in Chapter 4 and footnote 192.

³⁰⁶ See above Chapter 5 and footnote 187.

³⁰⁷ John Morton, Robert Frost and Thomas Danet attended Oxford and Cambridge. Most of those who attended foreign universities later achieved cathedral dignities or entered royal service. Morton and Gigli became bishops and cardinals. Gigli may have studied in Lucca.

³⁰⁸ Of the later residentiaries, Egerton had an M.A. and Edyall was not credited with a degree.

Information about schools attended by the canons is available only for those who attended Eton and Winchester, almost the only medieval schools to have detailed records. Four were King's scholars at Eton and two were scholars at Winchester. None of these was a residentiary and most went into royal service, like Barrowe and Argentyne. It is only tradition which assigns Smythe to education in Lady Margaret's household and Morton to Cerne Abbey.

The social origins of the canons are not easy to determine. Only Edmund Audley, John Docket and James Stanley had noble blood.³⁰⁹ There is no evidence for Heywood's claim to it. Many were from the ranks of the gentry, but for others there is no indication of social class. Geographical origins are slightly easier to find. Few definitely came from the diocese, a lower proportion than revealed in the Exeter study, though there are clues suggesting that others did. Origins can sometimes be deduced from ordination details, so when a cleric's ordination and all his benefices were in Lichfield Diocese it may reasonably be supposed that it was his home.³¹⁰ Other canons' original dioceses are known, but many are not.

Some canons were involved with Bishop Hals in the trials in 1486, 1480 and 1490 of Coventry Lollards. These were isolated cases and cannot be taken as an indication of dissatisfaction with the Church as an institution or as it existed in Coventry. Nor, since the views expressed were by no means extreme, can their conduct really be seen as the first stirrings of the Reformation. Bishop Hals, a pastor like Heywood, was concerned to understand the Lollards and persuade them to repent, not condemn them

³⁰⁹ Audley, Docket and Stanley were respectively the son of Lord Audley, Archbishop Bourghier's nephew and the son of Lord Stanley and brother of the first Earl of Derby.

³¹⁰ Reynold's entry in *B.R.U.O.*, for example, gives no information about his origins, but all his benefices were in Lichfield Diocese and he was at Lichfield from 1471 until his death in 1497.

to the fire, in contrast to the situation under Bishop Blyth from 1511. The canons involved were not the residentiaries, with the exception of Strangeways and Edmund Hals. Possibly Lollardy flourished in Coventry because the Prior's authority was weak, while the city's powerful secular government was unconcerned about heresy, whereas in Lichfield the Dean had a very strong grip through his visitations and his court on the moral behaviour of the citizens, so there was no outbreak of heterodoxy. It has also been noted, however, that by the end of the fifteenth century the Guild had greatly increased its power to the detriment in the next century of that of the Dean.

Heywood's approach to religion was conventional. He accepted the Church's teachings and expanded the Cathedral's religious life in accordance with traditional practices by establishing new shrines, chantries and masses, making provision for obits and eliciting new indulgences. The laity showed their support for the Church, and their lack of desire for change, by attending the services, visiting the new shrines and joining the new Guild, while the stream of pilgrims to St.Chad's ancient shrine continued. Heywood was concerned, too, that God's house should be beautified, services dignified and clerics become learned. His tomb, with its cadaver beneath his effigy, emphasizes death and decay, and links him firmly to the fifteenth century. He might not have comprehended Colet's call for reform in 1511; he would certainly not have understood the Edwardian iconoclasts.

The residentiaries, far fewer in number than the careerists, were like them, mostly pluralists, but this appears not to have affected the work of the Chapter resident in Lichfield. Since they held their prebends for extended periods and like Heywood dedicated their lives to serving the cathedral, they gave the administration of the

Close, the Cathedral and the Diocese real stability. They were greatly assisted by the leadership for almost the entire period of Dean Heywood, by the existence of systems that were well established and effective and by inheriting buildings needing no fundamental change, but which they improved and beautified. The continuity in the personnel of the Chapter arguably also increased its power. Bishop Hals was in office for the same period and clearly worked closely and peacefully with Heywood, ensuring stability was maintained. Late medieval piety was sustained and encouraged and Lollardy and other stirrings of reform did not come to Lichfield. Yet, by the time Heywood and Hals died, relations between the Close and the city had begun to change, as secular power grew, as was to happen decisively in the sixteenth century throughout the country. The careers of the Lichfield canons in the last quarter of the fifteenth century illustrate the functioning of the late medieval Church, a complex and, to some, an apparently unchanging institution.

Appendix I

Values of Lichfield Cathedral Prebends in 1535

Prebends are listed in the order and with the spelling found in *Valor Ecclesiasticus Volume III* pp.130-132 (London 1817)

<u>Brewod</u> (Brewood) (held by the Deans of Lichfield)	£xl - s. - d. (£40)
<u>Bysshophill</u> (Bishopshull)	£- xls. - d. (40s.)
<u>Berkeswych Whityngton</u> (Whittington and Berkswick)	£iij vjs. viijd. (£3 6s. 8d.)
<u>Alderwas</u> (Alrewas) (held by the Chancellor)	£xxvj xiijs. iiijd. (£26 13s. 4d.)
<u>Weeford</u>	£xiiij -s. -d. (£14 0s 0d.)
<u>Dernford</u>	£- xs. -d. (10s.)
<u>Curborowe</u> (Curborough)	£vj xiijs. iiijd. (£6 13s. 4d.)
<u>Gaia Minor</u>	£- xls. -d. (40s.or £2)
<u>Handysacre</u> (Hansacre)	£xiiij -s. -d. (£14)
<u>Pipa Parva</u>	£- xxvjs. viijd. (26s. 8d.)
<u>Gaia Major</u>	£v -s. -d. (£5)
<u>Freford</u> (Freeford)	£xx -s. -d. (£20)
<u>Longdon</u>	£viiij -s. -d. (£8)
<u>Eccleshall</u>	£xx -s. -d. (£20)
<u>Offeley</u> (Offley)	£xvj -s. -d. (£16)
<u>Stotfold</u>	£v -s. -d. (£5)
<u>Colwych</u> (Colwich)	£xiiij vjs. viijd. (£13 6s. 8d.)
<u>Dorset Parva</u> (Dasset Parva)	£- iijs. iiijd. (3s. 4d.)
<u>Wolvey</u>	£- xliij iiijd. (43s. 4d. or £2 3s. 4d.)
<u>Bobynhull</u> (Bobenhull)	£- xxs. -d. (20s. or £1)
<u>Ryton</u>	£vj xiiij iiijd. (£6 13s. 4d.)
<u>Ichyngton</u> (Bishops Itchington) held by the Precentor	£xxvj xiijs. iiijd. (£26 13s. 4d.)

Tachebroke (Tachbrook) £x –s. –d. (£10)
Oloughton (Ufton Decani) £- liijs. iiijd. (53s. 4d. or £2 13s. 4d.)
Oloughton (Ufton Cantoris) £- liijs. iiijd. (53s. 4d. or £2 13s. 4d.)
Preez (Pipa Minor) £xix –s. –d. (£19)
Wellington £x –s. –d. (£10)
Tervyn (Tervin) xl m. (40 marks or £26 13s. 4d.)
Bolton held by the Archdeacon of Chester (no figure recorded)
Flixton £vij –s. –d. (£7)
Sallow (Sawley) held by the Treasurer £lvj xiijs. iiijd. (£56 13s. 4d.)
Sandiacre £vj xiijs. iiijd. (£6 13s. 4d.)
Total £iiijc iiij_{xx} –s. xxiid. (£334 1s. 10d.)

Appendix II

Values of the Chapter's Temporality and Spirituality Income

as listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535* (London 1817) pp.132-135

Temporality Income

Temporalities belonging to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, that is the Canons Residentiary.

Income from land and tenements £- lj s. v d. (51s. 5d. or £2 11s. 5d.)

Spirituality income

£cxxv –s. –d. (£125)

Bawkwel (Bakewell) £ccxv xv s. ix d. (£215 15s. 9d.)

Pensions belonging to the same Dean and Chapter

County of Derby £x xvij s. iiij d. (£10 17s. 4d.)

County of Chester £- xiiij s. –d. (17s.)

County of Warwick £xxxix –s. –d. (£39)

County of Lancaster £- xlvj s. viij d. (46s. 8d. or £2 6s. 8d.)

County of Salop £iiij vjs. viijd. (£4 6s. 8d.)

County of Stafford £xxxv xviijs.iiijd. (£35 18s. 4d.)

Total pensions £lxxxiiij iij s. –d. (£93 3s. 0d.)

Grand Total

£ccccxxvj xs. iiij d. (£436 10s. 3d.)

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